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LIFE

OF Hyde k.

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON,

LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR of ENGLAND,

AND

CHANCELLOR of the University of OXFORD.

CONTAINING,

I. An Account of the CHANCELLOR'S

LIFE from his BIRTH to the

RESTORATION in 1660.

II. A Continuation of the same, and of his HISTORY of the GRAND REBELLION, from the RESTORATION to his BANISHMENT in 1667.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF,

Printed from his ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS, given to the UNIVERSITY of OXFORD by the Heirs of the late EARL of CLARENDON.

Ne quid Falsi dicere audeat, ne quid Veri non audeat. Ch

IN THREE VOLUMES.

THE THIRD EDITION.

OXFORD,

At the CLARENDON PRINTING-House. M.DCC.LXI.

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THE

PREFACE.

THE Reader can desire no better Recommendation of the History now published, than to be assured that it is the genuine Work of the great Earl of Clarendon. The Work itself bears plain Characteristicks of its Author. The same Dignity of Sentiment, and Style, which distinguishes The History of the Rebellion, and all other the Works of this noble Writer, breathes through the whole of this Performance.

Ing concealed, will appear from the * Title of it, which shews that his Lordship intended it only for the Information of his Children. But the late Lord Hyde, judging that so faithful and authentick an Account of this interesting Period of our History would be an useful and acceptable Present to the Publick, and bearing a grateful Remembrance of this Place of his Education, left by his Will this, and the other Remains of his Great Grandfather, in the Hands of Trustees, to be printed at our Press, and directed that the Profits arising from the Sale should be employed towards the establishing a Riding-School in the University.

* See Continuation, Page 1.

But

But Lord Hyde dying before his Father, the then Earl of Clarendon, the Property of these Papers never became vested in him, and consequently this Bequest was void. However, the noble Heiresses of the Earl of Clarendon, out of their Regard to the Publick, and to this Seat of Learning, have been pleased to fulfill the kind Intentions of Lord Hyde, and adopt a Scheme recommended both by him, * and his Great Grandfather. To this End They have sent to the University this History to be printed at our Press, on Condition that the Profits arising from the Publication or Sale of this Work be applied, as a Beginning for a Fund for supporting a Manage, or Academy for Riding, and other useful Exercises, in Oxford.

of two Parts. The Second, which is the most important and interesting Part of the Work, is The History of the Earl of Clarendon's Life from the Year 1660 to 1667, from the Restoration to the Time of his Banishment, and includes in it the most memorable Transactions of those Times. It may be therefore considered in two Views. It is a Second Part of Lord Clarendon's Life: And is also a Continuation of his former History, entitled The History of that ends, to the Year 1667. This is carefully printed, without any material Variations, from a Manuscript all of Lord Clarendon's own Hand-writing, excepting some few Pages in the Hand of his Amanuenss, which are only Transaction, See his Dialogue on Education, Page 325, Sc.

Scripts

fcripts from two Papers, the one, a Letter from the Chancellor to the King on the Subject of his Majesty's declared Displeasure; the other, a Paper containing his Reasons for withdrawing himself, which He left behind him to be presented to the House of Peers,

TO this our noble Benefactresses have thought fit to prefix, as a First Part, THE HISTORY OF THE EARL OF CLARENDON'S LIFE, FROM HIS BIRTH, TO THE YEAR 1660, extracted from another Manuscript of Lord Clarendon's own Hand-writing. This other Manuscript is entitled by his Lordship, THE HISTORY OF HIS OWN LIFE, and contains likewise the Substance of THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION. However, it is not the Manuscript from whence that History was printed, but appears rather to be the rough Draught from whence that History, or however great Part of it, was afterwards compiled. For although He tells us towards the Close of this Work, that He wrote the first four Books of THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION in the Island of Jersey, (many Years before the Date of this HISTORY OF HIS LIFE) yet He likewise informs us, that He did not proceed to compleat that History till after his Banishment. It is therefore supposed by the Family (and the Suppofition seems to carry with it great Probability). that, seeing an unjust and cruel Persecution prewail against bim, He was induced at that Time to extend the original Plan of his Work, by intro-ducing the particular History of his own Life, from bis earliest Days down to the Time of bis Difgrace,

Disgrace, as the most effectual Means of vindi-cating his Character, wickedly traduced by his Enemies, and artfully misrepresented to a Master, whom He had long and faithfully ferved, whose Countenance and Favour being transferred to the Authors and Abettors of his Ruin, might probably in the Eyes of the World, give too much Colour to their Aspersions. But afterwards, on more mature Thoughts, his great Benevolence, and publick Spirit, prevailed on him to drop the Defence of his own private Character, and re-fume his original Plan of THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION. However his noble Descendants, willing to do Justice to the Memory of their Great Grandfather, and thinking it might be also of Service to the Publick to deliver his Exemplary Life as compleat, as They could authentically collect it, have caused such Parts of this Manuscript, as related to the Earl of Clarendon's private Life, to be extracted, and according to their Directions it is printed.

The Directions are as follows,

"THE LIFE OF LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON FROM HIS BIRTH TO THE RESTO"RATION OF THE ROYAL FAMILY, is ex"tracted from a large Manuscript in his own
"Hand-writing, in which is contained what has
"already been printed in THE HISTORY OF
"THE REBELLION; and therefore Care has
"been taken to transcribe only what has never
"yet been published: But as those Passages are
"often intermixed with the History already
"printed,

"printed, it has been found necessary to preserve "Connection, by giving * Abstracts of some "Parts of the printed History, with References "to the Pages, where the Reader may be satisfied more at large. And, as great Pains have been taken to put this First Part in the Order "it now stands, it is desired that in this sirst Edition it may be printed exactly after the "Copy to be sent."

"THE original Manuscript of THE CONTI"NUATION OF LORD CHANCELLOR CLAREN"DON'S LIFE FROM 1660 TO 1667 INCLUSIVE
"is very incorrect, many Words being omitted,
"that must necessarily be supplied: But it is de"fired that no other Alterations may be made,
"except in the Orthography, or where literal,
"or grammatical Errors require it, or where
"little Inaccuracies may have escaped the At"tention of the Author. The Work must be
"printed entire, as it now stands, no Part of
"it left out, not an Abstract, nor a Reference
"omitted.

THESE Directions have been punctually obferved. The Second Part is printed from his Lordship's Manuscripts entire, without any Omission, or Variation, except as above. And with Regard to the First Part, the Extract sent to us has been carefully compared with the Original

^{*} Those Passages are indented. Those printed in Italicks, Pages 59, 82, 90, 133, the Note Page 100, and some others still less material, were added with the same View.

Manuscript it self, and found to agree: So that the Whole here offered to the Publick is the genuine Work of the Lord Chancellor CLARENDON. And both these Valuable Original Manuscripts are given to the University by our noble Benefactresses, to be deposited in the Publick Library.



THE

LIFE

OF.

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON,

LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND,

AND

CHANCELLOR of the University of OXFORD,

From his Birth to the Restoration in 1660.

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VOLUME THE FIRST.

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The LIFE of

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON

From his Birth to the Restoration of the Royal Family in the Year 1660.

PART the FIRST.

Montpelier, 23 July 1668.

E was born in Dinton in the County of Wilts, Place of Mr. fix Miles from Salisbury, in the House of his E. Hyde's Father who was Henry Hyde, the third Son His Geneales of Laurence Hyde, of West-Hatch, Esq; which Laurence was the younger Son of Robert Hyde of Norbury in the County of Chester, Esq; which Estate of Norbury had continued in that Family, and descended from Father to Son from before the Conquest, and continues to this Day in Edward Hyde, who is possessed thereof: The other Estate of Hyde having some Ages since fallen into that of Norbury, by a Marriage, and continues still in that House.

L'AURENCE, being as was faid the younger Some Account Son of Robert Hyde of Norbury, and the Custom of of bis Family: that County of Chester being to make small Provifather. Since for the younger Sons of the best Families, was by the Care and Providence of his Mother well educated, and when his Age was fit for it, was placed as a Clerk in one of the Auditor's Offices of the Exchequer, where He gained great Experience, Vol. I.

and was employed in the Affairs and Business of Sir John Thynne, who under the Protection and Service of the Duke of Somerfet had in a short Time (2) raised a very great Estate, and was the first of that Name who was known, and left the House of Longleat to his Heir, with other Lands to a great Value. Laurence Hyde continued not above a Year (or very little more) in that Relation, and never gained any Thing by it; but shortly after married Anne, the Relift and Widow of Matthew Calthurst, Esq; of Claverton near Bath in the County of Somerset, by whom He had a fair Fortune: And by her had four Sons and four Daughters, that is to fay, Robert, Laurence, Henry, and Nicholas, Joanna, married to Edward Younge of Durnford near Salisbury, Esq; Alice, married to John St. Loe of Kingston in the County of Wilts, Esq; Anne, married to Thomas Baynard of Wanstrow in the County of Somerset, Esq; and Susanna, married to Sir George Fuy of Kyneton in the County of Wilts, Knight: And these four Sons and four Daughters lived all above forty Years after the Death of their Father.

LAURENCE, shortly after his Marriage with Anne, purchased the Manor of West-Hatch, where He died, and feveral other Lands; and having taken Care to breed his Sons at the University of Oxford, and Inns of Court, leaving his Wife, the Mother of all his Children, possessed of the greatest Part of his Estate, presuming that She would be careful and kind to all their Children, upon that Account left the Bulk of his Estate to Robert his eldest Son, who married Anne the Daughter of ---- Castilian of Benham in the County of Berks, Efg; who had many Children, and lived to the Age of eighty, and left his Estate, a little impaired by the Marriage of many Daughters, to his Son. To Laurence his fecond Son, (who was afterwards Sir Laurence, and Attorney General to Queen Anne, and a Lawyer of great Name and Practice) He left the impropriate Rectory

Rectory of Dinton, after the Life of Anne his Mother, charged with an Annuity of forty Pounds per Annum to his third Son Henry for his Life; and He charged some other Part of his Estate with an Annuity of thirty Pounds per Annum to his youngest Son Nicholas, for his Life, relying upon the Goodness of his Wife, who was left very rich, as well by his Donation, as from her Husband Caltburft, that She would provide for the better Support of the younger Children; two of which raised their Fortunes by the Law, Laurence, as was faid before, being Attorney General to the Queen, and Nicholas, the youngest Son, living to be Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and dying in that Office; both of them leaving behind them many Sons and Daughters.

HENRY, the third Son, being of the Middle Of bis Fa-Temple at his Father's Death, and being thought to be most in the Favour of his Mother, and being ready to be called to the Bar, though He had ftudied the Law very well, and was a very good Scholar, having proceeded Master of Arts in Oxford, had yet no Mind to the Practice of the Law, but had long had an Inclination to travel beyond the Seas, which in that strict Time of Queen Elizabeth was not usual, except to Merchants and such Gentlemen who refolved to be Soldiers; and at last prevailed with his Mother to give him Leave to go to the Spa for his Health, from whence He followed his former Inclinations, and passing through Germamy, He went into Italy, and from Florence He went to Syena, and thence to Rome: Which was not only strictly inhibited to all the Queen's Subjects, but was very dangerous to all the English Nation who did not profess themselves Roman Catholicks, to which Profession He was very averse, in Regard of the great Animosity Sixtus Quintus (who was then Pope) had to the Person of Queen Elizabeth: Yet Cardinal Allen, who was the last English Cardinal,

being then in Rome, He received to much Protection from him, that during the Time He staid there, which was some Months, He received no Trouble, though many English Priests murmured very much, and said, "that my Lord Cardinal was much to be "blamed for protecting such Men, who came to "Rome, and so seeing the Ecclesiastical Persons of "that Nation, discovered them afterwards when "They came into England, and so They were put "to Death."

AFTER He was returned into England his Mother was very glad, and perfuaded him very earnestly to marry, offering him in that Case, that whereas She had the Rectory of Dinton in Jointure for her Life, upon which He had only an Annuity of forty Pounds per Annum, for his Life, the Remainder being to come to Laurence the fecond Brother and his Heirs for ever, She would immediately refign her Term to him, for his better Support, and would likewise purchase of Laurence, the said Rectory for the Life of Henry, and fuch a Wife as He should marry; upon which Encouragement, and depending still upon his Mother's future Bounty, about the thirtieth Year of his Age, He married Mary, one of the Daughters and Heirs of Edward Langford of Trowbridge in the County of Wilts, Esq; by whom in present, and after her Mother, He had a good Fortune, in the Account of that Age. From that Time, He lived a private Life at Dinton aforefaid, with great Cheerfulness and Content, and with a general Reputation throughout the whole Country; being a Person of great Knowledge and Reputation, and of fo great Esteem for Integrity, that most Persons near him referred all Matters of Contention and Difference which did arise amongst them, to his Determination; by which, that Part of the Country lived in more Peace and Quietness than many of their Neighbours. During the Time of Queen Elizabeth He served as a Burgess for some neigh-

neighbour Boroughs in many Parliaments; but from the Death of Queen Elizabeth, He never was in London, though He lived above thirty Years after; and his Wife, who was married to him above forty Years, never was in London in her Life; the Wisdom and Frugality of that Time being such, that few Gentlemen made Journies to London, or any other expensive Journies, but upon important Business, and their Wives never; by which Providence, They enjoyed and improved their Estates in the Country, and kept good Hospitality in their Houses, brought up their Children well, and were beloved by their Neighbours; and in this Rank, and with this Reputation this Gentleman lived till He was seventy Years of Age; his younger Brother the Chief Justice dying some Years before him, and his two elder Brothers outliving him: The great Affection between the four Brothers, and towards their Sifters, of whom all enjoyed Plenty and Contentedness, was very notorious throughout the Country, and of Credit to them all.

HENRY HYDE, the third Son of Laurence, by his Intermarriage with Mary Langford, had four Sons and five Daughters, and being by the Kindness and Bounty of his Mother, who lived long, and till He had feven or eight Children, possessed of such an Estate as made his Condition easy to him, lived still in the Country, as was said before. Laurence his eldest Son died young; Henry his second Son lived till He was twenty fix or twenty feven Years of Age; Edward his third Son was He who came afterwards to be Earl of Clarendon, and Lord High Chancellor of England; Nicholas died young; Henry and Edward were both in the University of Oxford together; Henry being Master of Arts the Act before his younger Brother Edward came to the University, who was designed by his Father to the

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Time of the Author's Birtb. His Education.

He is fent to Oxford.

EDWARD HYDE, being the third Son of his Fa- (4) ther, was born at Dinton upon the eighteenth Day of February in the Year 1608, being the fifth Year of King James; and was always bred in his Father's House under the Care of a Schoolmaster, to whom his Father had given the Vicarage of that Parish, who having been always a Schoolmaster, had bred many good Scholars, and this Person of whom we now speak, principally by the Care and Conversation of his Father, (who was an excellent Scholar, and took Pleasure in conferring with him, and contributed much more to his Education than the School did) was thought fit to be fent to the University soon after He was thirteen Years of Age; and being a younger Son of a younger Brother, was to expect a small Patrimony from his Father, but to make his own Fortune by his own Industry; and in Order to that, was fent by his Father to Oxford at that Time, being about Magdalen Election Time, in Expectation that He should have been chosen Demy of Magdalen College, the Election being to be at that Time, for which He was recommended by a special Letter from King James to Dr. Langton then President of that College; but upon Pretence that the Letter came too late, though the Election was not then begun, He was not chosen, and so remained in Magdalen Hall (where He was before admitted) under the Tuition of Mr. John Oliver, a Fellow of that College, who had been Junior of the Act a Month before, and a Scholar of Eminency.

THE Year following, the Prefident of the College having received Reprehension from the Lord Conway then Secretary of State, for giving no more Respect to the King's Letter, He was chosen the next Election in the first Place, but that whole Year passed without any Avoidance of a Demy's Place, which was never known before in any Man's Memory; and that Year King James died, and shortly

after,

after, Henry his elder Brother, and thereupon his Father having now no other Son, changed his former Inclination, and resolved to send his Son Edward to the Inns of Court: He was then entered in the Middle Temple by his Uncle Nicholas Hyde, who Mr. Hyde was then Treasurer of that Society, and afterwards Middle Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench; but by Temple. Reason of the great Plague then at London in the first Year of King Charles, and the Parliament being then adjourned to Oxford, whither the Plague was likewise then brought by Sir James Hussy, one of the Masters of the Chancery, who died in New-College the first Night after his Arrival at Oxford, and shortly after Dr. Chaloner Principal of Alban-Hall, who had supped that Night with Sir James Huffy, He did not go to the Middle Temple till the Michaelmass Term after the Term at Reading, but remained partly at his Father's House, and partly at the University, where He took the Degree of Bachelor of Arts, and then left it, rather with the Opinion of a young Man of Parts and Pregnancy of Wit, than that He had improved it much by Industry, the Discipline of that Time being not so ftrict as it hath been fince, and as it ought to be; and the Custom of Drinking being too much introduced and practifed, his elder Brother having been too much corrupted in that Kind, and fo having at his first Coming given him some Liberty, at least fome Example towards that License, insomuch as He was often heard to fay, "that it was a very "good Fortune to him, that his Father fo foon re-"moved him from the University," though He always referved a high Esteem of it.

BEFORE the Beginning of Michaelmass Term, (which was in the Year 1625) the City being then clear from the Plague, He went from Marlborough after the Quarter Sessions with his Uncle Nicholas Hyde to London, and arrived there the Eve of the A 4

Term, being then between fixteen and feventeen (5) Years of Age: In the Evening He went to Prayers to the Temple Church, and was there seized upon by a Fit of an Ague very violently, which proved a Quartan, and brought him in a short Time so weak, that his Friends much feared a Confumption, fo that his Uncle thought fit shortly after Albollandtide to fend him into the Country to Pirton in North Wiltsbire, whither his Father had removed himself from Dinton; choosing rather to live upon his own Land, the which He had purchased many Years before, and to rent Dinton, which was but a Lease for Lives, to a Tenant. He came Home to his Father's House very weak, his Ague continuing so violently upon him (though it fometimes changed its Course from a quartan to a tertian, and then to a quotidian, and on new Year's Day he had two hot Fits and two cold Fits) until Whitsunday following, that all Men thought him to be in a Confumption; it then left him, and He grew quickly strong again. In this Time of his Sickness his Uncle was made Chief Justice: It was Michaelmass following before He returned to the Middle Temple, having by his Want of Health loft a full Year of Study, and when He returned, it was without great Application to the Study of the Law for some Years, it being then a Time when the Town was full of Soldiers, the King having then a War both with Spain and France, and the Business of the Isle of Ree shortly followed; and He had gotten into the Acquaintance of many of those Officers, which took up too much of his Time for one Year; but as the War was quickly ended, fo He had the good Fortune quickly to make a full Retreat from that Company, and from any Conversation with any of them, and without any Hurt or Prejudice; infomuch as He used often to say, "that since it pleased God to

" preserve him whilst He did keep that Company

Pirton.

Removed to

Returns to the Middle Temple.

"(in which He wonderfully escaped from being in-"volved in many Inconveniences) and to withdraw "him so soon from it, He was not forry that He " had fome Experience in the Conversation of such "Men, and of the License of those Times," which was very exorbitant: Yet when He did indulge himself that Liberty, it was without any signal Debauchery, and not without some Hours every Day, at least every Night, spent amongst his Books; yet He would not deny that, more than to be able to answer his Uncle who almost every Night put a Case to him in Law, He could not bring himself to an industrious Pursuit of the Law Study; but rather loved polite Learning and History, in which, especially in the Roman, He had been always converfant.

In the Year 1628 his Father gave him Leave to Sets out on the ride the Circuit in the Summer with his Uncle the cuit, Chief Justice, who then rode the Norfolk Circuit; and indeed defired it, both that He might fee those Countries, and especially that He might be out of London in that Season, when the Small Pox raged very furiously, and many Persons, some whereof were much acquainted with him, died of that Difease in the Middle Temple itself: It was about the Middle of July when that Circuit began, and Cambridge was the first Place the Judges begun at; Mr. Justice Harvey, (one of the Judges of the Common Pleas) was in Commission with the Chief Justice: They both came into Cambridge on the Saturday Night, and the next Day Mr. Edward Hyde fell fick, which Falls fick of was imputed only to his Journey the Day before in the Small Pox at Camvery hot Weather; but He continued fo ill the Day bridge. or two following, that it was apprehended that He might have the Small Pox; whereupon He was removed out of Trinity College, where the Judges were lodged, to the Sun Inn over against the College Gate, the Judges being to go out of Town the

next Day; but before they went, the Small Pox appeared: whereupon his Uncle put him under the (6) Care of Mr. Crane an eminent Apothecary, who had been bred up under Dr. Butler, and was in much greater Practice than any Physician in the University: and left with him Laurence St. Loe one of his Servants, who was likewise his Nephew, to assist and comfort him: It pleased God to preserve him from that devouring Difease, which was spread all over him very furiously, and had so far prevailed over him, that for some Hours both his Friends and Physician consulted of Nothing but of the Place and Manner of his Burial; but as I said, by God's Goodness He escaped that Sickness, and within few Days more than a Month after his first Indisposition, He passed in moderate Journeys to his Father's House Return again at Pirton, where He arrived a Day or two before

to Pirton af- Bartholemew Day. very.

HE was often wont to fay, that he was reading to his Father in Camden's Annals, and that particular Place, in which it is faid, "Johannes Feltonus, qui "Bullam Pontificiam valvis Palarii Episcopi Londinen-" sis affixerat jam deprebensus, cum fugere nollet, fac-"tum confessus quod tamen crimen agnoscere noluit, &c." when a Person of the Neighbourhood knocked at the Door, and being called in, told his Father, that a Post was then passed through the Village to Charleton, the House of the Earl of Berksbire, to inform the Earl of Berkshire that the Duke of Buckingham was killed the Day before, (being the 24th of August, Bartholemew Day, in the Year 1628) by one John Felton, + which dismal Accident happening in the Court, made a great Change in the State, produced a fudden Disbanding of all Armies, and a due Observation of, and Obedience to the Laws; so that

there

⁺ For the Particulars of the Duke of Buckingham's Death, and of the Alterations it produced at Court and in publick Affairs, Vid. Hift. of the Reb. Fol. Vol. 1. Page 22, &c.

there being no more Mutations in View (which usually affect the Spirits of young Men, at least hold them some Time at Gaze) Mr. Hyde returned again And from to his Studies at the Middle Temple, having it still Pirton to the in his Resolution to dedicate himself to the Profes-Temple. fion of the Law, without declining the politer Learning, to which his Humour and his Conversation kept him always very indulgent; and to lay fome Obligation upon himself to be fixed to that Course of Life, He inclined to a Proposition of Marriage, which having no other Passion in it, than an Appetite to a convenient Estate, succeeded not, yet produced new Acquaintance, and continued the fame Inclinations.

ABOUT this Time his Uncle Sir Nicholas Hyde Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, died of a Death and malignant Fever, gotten from the Infection of some Character of Goal in his Summer Circuit: He was a Man of ex- Sir Nicholas cellent Learning for that Province He was to go-Hyde. vern, of unfuspected and unblemished Integrity, of an exemplar Gravity and Austerity, which was necessary for the Manners of that Time, corrupted by the marching of Armies, and by the License after the disbanding them; and though upon his Promotion some Years before, from a private Practiser of the Law, to the supreme Judicatory in it, by the Power and Recommendation of the great Favourite, of whose Council he had been, He was exposed to much Envy and some Prejudice; yet his Behaviour was fo grateful to all the Judges, who had an entire Confidence in him, his Service so useful to the King in his Government, his Justice and Sincerity so conspicuous throughout the Kingdom, that the Death of no Judge had in any Time been more lamented.

THE Loss of so beneficial an Encouragement and Support in that Profession, did not at all discourage his Nephew in his Purpose; rather added new Refolution

Mr. Hyde's Marriage.

Wife.

folution to him; and to call Home all straggling (7) and wandering Appetites, which naturally produce Irrefolution and Inconstancy in the Mind, with his Father's Confent and Approbation, He married a young Lady very fair and beautiful, the Daughter of Sir George Ayliffe, a Gentleman of a good Name and Fortune in the County of Wilts, where his own Expectations lay, and by her Mother (a St. John) nearly allied to many noble Families in England. He enjoyed this Comfort and Composure of Mind a very short Time, for within less than six Months after He was married, being upon the Way from London towards his Father's House, she fell sick at Reading, and being removed to a Friend's House near that Town, the Small Pox discovered themfelves, and (she being with Child) forced her to miscarry; and She died within two Days. He bore her Loss with so great Passion and Confusion of Spirit, that it shook all the Frame of his Resolutions, and Nothing but his entire Duty and Reverence to his Father kept him from giving over all Thoughts of Books, and transporting himself beyond the Seas, to enjoy his own Melancholy; nor could any Persuafion or Importunity from his Friends prevail with him in some Years to think of another Marriage. There was an ill Accident in the Court befel a Lady of a Family nearly allied to his Wife, whose Memory was very dear to him, and there always continued a firm Friendship in him to all her Alliance, which likewife ever manifested an equal Affection to him; amongst those was William Viscount Grandison, a young Man of extraordinary Hope, between whom and the other there was an entire Confidence: The Injury was of that Nature, that the young Lord thought of Nothing but repairing it his own Way; but those Imaginations were quickly at an End, by the King's rigorous and just Proceeding against the Persons offending, in committing

(7)

them both to the Tower, and declaring that "fince "He was fatisfied that there was a Promise of Mar-"riage in the Case, the Gentleman should make "good his Promise by marrying the Lady; or be "kept in Prison, and for ever banished from all "Pretence or Relation to the Court," where He had a very great Credit and Interest: This Declaration by the King made the nearest Friends of the Lady pursue the Defign of this Reparation more folicitously, in which They had all Access to the King, who continued still in his declared Judgment in the Matter: In this Pursuit Mr. Hyde's passionate Affection to the Family embarked him, and They were all as willing to be guided by his Conduct; the Business was to be followed by frequent Instances at Court, and Conferences with those who had most Power and Opportunity to confirm the King in the Sense He had entertained; and those Conferences were wholly managed by him, who thereby had all Admission to the Persons of Alliance to the Lady, and fo concerned in the Dishonour, which was a great Body of Lords and Ladies of principal Relations in the Court, with whom in a short Time He The Occasion was of great Credit and Esteem; of which the Mar- Hyde's Introquis of Hamilton was one, who having married an duction to the excellent Lady, Coufin-German to the injured Per- Hamilton, fon, feemed the most concerned and most zealous for her Vindication, and who had at that Time the most Credit of any Man about the Court, and upon that Occasion entered into a Familiarity with him, and made as great Professions of Kindness to him as could pass to a Person at that Distance from him, which continued till the End and Conclusion of that Affair, when the Marquis believed that Mr. Hyde had discovered some Want of Sincerity in him in that Profecution, which He pretended so much to affert.

THE Mention of this particular little Story, in (8) itself of no seeming Consequence, is not inserted here only as it made some Alterations, and accidentally introduced him into another Way of Conversation than He had formerly been accustomed to, and which in Truth by the Acquaintance, by the Friends and Enemies He then made, had an Influence upon the whole Course of his Life afterwards; but as it made fuch Impressions upon the whole Court, by dividing the Lords and Ladies, both in their Wishes and Appearances, that much of that Faction grew out of it, which survived the Memory of the Original; and from this Occasion (to shew us from how fmall Springs great Rivers may arise) the Women. who till then had not appeared concerned in publick Affairs, began to have fome Part in all Bufiness; and having shewn themselves warm upon this Amour, as their Passions or Affections carried them. and thereby entered into new Affections, and formed new Interests; the Activity in their Spirits remained still vigorous when the Object which first inspired it was vanished and put in Oblivion. Nor were the very Ministers of State vacant upon this Occasion; They who for their own Sakes, or, as They pretended, for the King's Dignity, and Honour of the Court, defired the Ruin of the Gentleman, pressed the Magnitude of the Crime, in bringing fo great a Scandal upon the King's Family, which would hinder Persons of Honour from sending their Children to the Court; and that there could be no Reparation without the Marriage, which They therefore only infifted upon, because They believed He would prefer Banishment before it; others who had Friendship for him and believed that He had an Interest in the Court, which might accommodate himself and them if this Breach were closed any Way, therefore if the King's Severity could not be prevailed upon, wished it concluded by the Marriage;

riage; which neither himself nor They upon whom He most depended, would ever be brought to confent to; fo that all the Jealousies and Animosities in the Court or State came to play their own Prizes in the widening or accommodating this Contention: In the Conclusion, on a sudden, contrary to the Expectation of any Man of either Party, the Gentleman was immediately fent out of the Kingdom, under the Formality of a temporary and short Banishment, and the Lady commended to her Friends, to be taken Care of till her Delivery; and from that Time never Word more spoken of the Business, nor shall their Names ever come upon the Stage by any Record of mine: It was only observed, that at this Time there was a great Change in the Friendships of the Court, and in those of the Marquis of Hamilton, who came now into the Queen's Confidence, towards whom He had always been in great Jealoufy; and another Lady more appeared in View, who had for the most Part before continued behind the Curtain; and who in few Years after came to a very unhappy and untimely End.

Now after a Widowhood of near three Years, Mr. Hyde inclined again to marry, which He knew would be the most grateful Thing to his Father (for whom He had always a profound Reverence) He could do; and though He needed no other Motive to it, He would often fay, that though He was now called to the Bar, and entered into the Profession of the Law, He was not so confident of himself that He should not start aside, if his Father should die, who was then near feventy Years of Age, having long entertained Thoughts of Travels, but that He thought it necessary to lay some Obligation upon himself, which would suppress and restrain all those Appetites; and thereupon refolved to marry, and fo being about the Age of twenty four Years, in the His facond Year of our Lord 1632, He married the Daughter Marriage.

of Sir Thomas Aylesbury Baronet, Master of Requests (9) to the King, by whom He had many Children of both Sexes, with whom He lived very comfortably in the most uncomfortable Times and very joyfully in those Times when Matter of Joy was administered, for the Space of five or fix and thirty Years; what befell him after her Death will be recounted in its Place. From the Time of his Marriage He laid afide all other Thoughts but of his Profession, to the which He betook himself very seriously; but in the very Entrance into it, He met with a great Mortification. It to nation stom brow

SOME Months after He was married, He went with his Wife to wait upon his Father and Mother at his House at Pirton, to make them Sharers in that Satisfaction which They had fo long defired to fee, and in which They took great Delight. His Father had long fuffered under an Indisposition (even before the Time his Son could remember) which gave him rather frequent Pains than Sickness; and gave him Cause to be terrified with the Expectation of the Stone, without being exercifed with the present Sense of it; but from the Time He was fixty Years of Age, it increased very much, and four or five Years before his Death, with Circumstances scarce heard of before, and the Causes whereof are not yet understood by any Physician; He was very often, both in the Day and the Night, forced to make Water, feldom in any Quantity, because He could not retain it long enough, and in the Close of that Work, without any sharp Pain in those Parts, He was still and constantly feized on by fo sharp a Pain in the left Arm, for Half a Quarter of an Hour, or near fo much, that the Torment made him as pale (whereas He was otherwise of a very fanguine Complexion) as if He were dead; and He used to say, "that He had " passed the Pangs of Death, and He should die in " one

"one of those Fits;" as soon as it was over, which was quickly, He was the cheerfullest Man living; eat well fuch Things as He could fancy, walked, flept, digested, conversed with such a Promptness and Vivacity upon all Arguments (for He was omnifariam doctus,) as hath been feldom known in a Man of his Age: But He had the Image of Death fo constantly before him in those continual Torments, that for many Years before his Death He always parted with his Son, as to fee him no more; and at Parting still shewed him his Will, discoursing very particularly and very cheerfully of all Things

He would have performed after his Death.

HE had for some Time before resolved to leave His Father's the Country, and to spend the Remainder of his Salisbury. Time in Salisbury, where He had caused a House to be provided for him, both for the Neighbourhood of the Cathedral Church, where He could perform his Devotions every Day, and for the Conversation of many of his Family who lived there, and not far from it; and especially that He might be buried there, where many of his Family and Friends lay; and He obliged his Son to accompany him thither before his Return to London; and He came to Salifbury on the Friday before Michaelmass Day in the Year 1622, and lodged in his own House that Night; the next Day He was fo wholly taken up in receiving Visits from his many Friends, being a Person wonderfully reverenced in those Parts, that He walked very little out of his House. The next Morning, being Sunday, He rose very early, and went to two or three Churches, and when He returned, which was by eight of the Clock, He told his Wife and his Son, "that He had been to look "out a Place to be buried in, but found none "against which He had not some Exception, the "Cathedral only excepted, where he had made "Choice of a Place near a Kinsman of his own Vol. I. " Name.

his

"Name, and had shewed it to the Sexton, whom (10) "He had fent for to that Purpose; and wished them. "to fee him buried there;" and this with as much Composedness of Mind as if it had made no Impression on him; then went to the Cathedral to Sermon, and fpent the whole Day in as cheerful Conversation with his Friends (saving only the frequent Interruptions his Infirmity gave him once in two or three Hours, fometimes more, fometimes less) as the Man in the most confirmed Health could do. Monday was Michaelmass Day, when in the Morning He went to visit his Brother Sir Laurence Hyde, who was then making a Journey in the Service of the King, and from him went to the Church to a Sermon, where He found himself a little pressed as He used to be, and therefore thought fit to make what Hafte He could to his House, and was no sooner come thither into a lower Room, than having made Water, and the Pain in his Arm feizing upon him, He fell down dead, without the least Motion of any Limb: The Suddenness of it made it apprehended to be an Apoplexy, but there being Nothing like Convulsions, or the least Distortion or Alteration in the Visage, it is not like to be from that Cause, nor could the Physicians make any reasonable Guess from whence that mortal Blow proceeded. He wanted about fix Weeks of attaining the Age of feventy, and was the greatest Instance of the Felicity of a Country Life that was feen in that Age; having enjoyed a competent, and to him a plentiful Fortune, a very great Reputation of Piety and Virtue, and his Death being attended with universal Lamentation. It cannot be expressed with what Agony his Son bore this Lofs, having as He was used to fay, "not only loft the best Father, but the best "Friend and the best Companion He ever had or "could have;" and He was never fo well pleafed, as when He had fit Occasions given him to mention

his Father, whom He did in Truth believe to be the wifest Man He had ever known, and He was often heard to fay, in the Time when his Condition was at highest, "that though God Almighty had "been very propitious to him in raising him to "great Honours and Preferments, He did not value "any Honour He had so much, as the being the "Son of fuch a Father and Mother, for whose Sakes "principally He thought God had conferred those

"Bleffings upon him."

THERE fell out at this Time or thereabouts, a great Alteration in the Court and State, by the Death of the Earl of Portland, Lord High Treasurer of England. The King from the Death of the Duke of Buckingbam had not only been very referved in his Bounty, but fo frugal in his own Expense, that He had retrenched much of what had formerly issued out for his Houshold, infomuch as every Year somewhat had been paid of his Debts. He refolved now to govern his Treasury by Commission, and to take a constant Account of it; and thereby to discover what had been of late done amis: The Commissioners He appointed were the The Trea-Lord Archbishop of Canterbury Dr. Laud, (formerly given to Com-Bishop of London) the Lord Keeper Coventry, and missioners. other principal Officers of State, who together with the Lord Cottington (who was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and by his Office of the Quorum in that Commission) were to supply the Office of Treasurer in all Particulars. The Archbishop of Canterbury, who till now had only intended the good Government of the Church, without intermeddling in fecular Affairs, otherwise than when the Discipline of the Church was concerned, in which He was very of whom ftrict, both in the high Commission and in all other Laud is one Places where He fat as a privy Counfellor, well foreseeing, as He made manifest upon several Occasions, the Growth of the Schismaticks, and that if

They were not with Rigour suppressed, They would (11) put the whole Kingdom into a Flame, which shortly after fell out to be too confessed a Truth; though for the present his Providence only served to increase the Number of his Enemies, who had from that his Zeal contracted all the Malice against him that can be imagined, and which He, out of the Conscience of his Duty, and the Purity of his Intentions, and his Knowledge of the King's full Approbation of his Vigilance and Ardour, too much undervalued; I fay, as foon as He was made Commissioner of the Treasury, He thought himself obliged to take all the Pains He could to understand that Employment, and the Nature of the Revenue, and to find out all possible Ways for the Improvement thereof, and for the present Managery of the Expense. Many were of Opinion that He was the more folicitous in that Disquisition, and the more inquisitive into what had been done, that He might make some Discovery of past Actions, which might reflect upon the Memory of the late Treasurer, the Earl of Portland, and call his Wisdom and Integrity in Question, who had been so far from being his Friend, That He had always laboured to do him all the Mischief He could, and it was no small Grief of Heart to him, and much Occasion of his ill Humour, to find that the Archbishop had too much Credit with the King. to be shaken by him; and the Archbishop was not in his Affections behind hand with him, looking always upon him as a Roman Catholick, though He diffembled it by going to Church; and as the great Countenancer and Support of that Religion; all his Family being of that Profession, and very few reforting to it, or having any Credit with him but fuch: It is very true, the Archbishop had no great Regard for his Memory, or for his Friends, and was willing enough to make any Discovery of his Miscarriages, and to inform his Majesty of them, who

who He believed had too good an Opinion of him

and his Integrity.

THE Truth is, the Archbishop had laid down one Principle to himself, which He believed would much advance the King's Service, and was without Doubt very prudent; that the King's Duties being provided for, and cheerfully paid, the Merchants should receive all the Countenance and Protection from the King that They could expect; and not be liable to the Vexation particular Men gave them for their private Advantage; being forward enough to receive Propositions which tended to the King's Profit, but careful that what accrued of Burthen to the Subject, should redound entirely to the Benefit of the Crown, and not enrich Projectors at the Charge of the People; and there is Reason to believe that if this Measure had been well observed, much of that Murmur had been prevented, which contributed to that Jealoufy and Discontent which soon after brake out. This Vigilance and Inclination in the Archbishop, opened a Door to the Admission of any Merchants or others to him, who gave him Information of this Kind; and who being ready to pay any Thing to the King, defired only to be protected from private Oppressions. The Archbishop used to spend as much Time as He could get at his Country House at Croydon, and then his Mind being unbent from Business, He delighted in the Conversation of his Neighbours, and treated them with great Urbanity.

THERE was a Merchant of the greatest Reputation, (Daniel Harvey) who having a Country House within the Distance of a sew Miles from Croydon, and understanding the whole Business of Trade more exactly than most Men, was always very welcome to the Archbishop, who used to ask him many Questions upon such Matters as He desired to be informed in; and received much Satisfaction from

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him.

Mr. Harvey's Complaint to the Archbishop of the Earl of Portland.

him. Upon an accidental Discourse between them, (12) what Encouragement Merchants ought to receive, who brought a great Trade into the Kingdom, and paid thereupon great Sums of Money to the King, Mr. Harvey mentioned the Discouragements They had received in the late Times, by the Rigour of the Earl of Portland, in Matters that related nothing to the King's Service, but to the Profit of private Men; and thereupon remembered a Particular, that, after the Dissolution of the Parliament in the fourth Year of the King, and the Combination amongst many Merchants to pay no more Cuftoms or Impositions to the King, because They had not been granted in Parliament, which produced those Suits and Decrees in the Exchequer, which are generally understood, and a general Distraction in Trade; many Merchants of the greatest Wealth and Reputation refolved to continue the Trade; and in a short Time reduced it into so good Order, and by their Advice and Example disposed others to make a punctual Entry of their Goods, and to pay their Duties to the King, that the Trade seemed to be restored to the Nation, and the Customs to rise above the Value They had ever yielded to the Crown; which was no fooner brought to pass, than the Earl of Portland (who endeavoured to persuade the King that this great Work was entirely compassed by his Wisdom, Interest, and Dexterity) disobliged the Merchants in a very fensible Degree, in requiring them to unlade their Ships at the Custom-House Quay, and at no other Quay or Wharf, upon Pretence that thereby the King would have his Customs well paid, of which otherwise He would be in Danger to be cozened; and alleged an Order that had been formerly made in the Court of the Exchequer, that fine Goods which were portable (as Silks and fine Linens) and might eafily be stolen, should always be landed at the Custom-House

12)

House Quay: The Merchants looked upon this Constraint and Restraint as a great Oppression, and applied themselves to him for Reparation and Redress; They undertook to make it evident to him, that it was merely a Matter which concerned the private Benefit of the particular Wharfingers, and not in the least Degree the King's Profit; that the Custom-House Quay was of great Value to the Owner of it, who had a very great Rent for it, but that it yielded the King nothing, nor would in fifty Years or thereabouts, there being a Leafe yet to come for that Term; that the Mention of fine Goods, and the Order of the Exchequer, was not applicable to the Question; that They disputed not the Landing of fine Goods, but that the Pretence was to compel them to bring their groffest, and their Merchandise of the greatest Bulk to that Quay, whereas They had been always free to ship or unship such Goods at what Wharf They would choose for their Conveniences; there being the sworn Waiters of the Custom-House attending in the one, as well as the other; that the restraining them to one Wharf, and obliging all the Ships to be brought thither, must prove much to their Prejudice, and make them depend upon the good Will of the Wharfinger for their Dispatch, who in Truth, let his Desire be never so good, could not be able to perform the Service, without obliging them to wait very long, and thereby to lose their Markets: All this Discourse, how reasonable soever, made no Impression upon the Treasurer, but He dismissed them with his usual Roughness, and reproached them that They defired all Occasions to cozen the King of his Customs; which They looked upon as an ill Reward for the Service They had done, and a great Discouragement to Trade. The Archbishop heard this Discourse with great Trouble and Indignation, and being then interrupted by the Coming of Perfons of Quality, told him, He would some other (13)
Time run over all these Particulars again, and that
He should recollect himself for other Instances of

that strange Nature.

THE next Time the Archbishop returned to Croydon, which He usually did once in the Week during the Summer, and staid a Day or two, impatient to understand more of the Matter, He sent for Mr. Harvey, and told him, "that his last Discourse had " given him much Cause of Sorrow, in finding how "the King had been used, and that He knew his "Nature so well, that He could confidently say, "that He never knew of that Kind of Proceeding, "and that He wondered that the Merchants had "not then petitioned the King, to hear the Matter "himself:" He answered, "that They had left no "Way unattempted for their Ease, having no Fear " of displeasing the Treasurer; that They had caused " a Petition to be drawn by their Council, which was " figned by all the principal Merchants in the City, "wherein (to obviate the Calumny concerning refu-"fing to pay, or stealing Customs) They declared, that "They were all very willing to pay all Duties to his "Majesty, and would never refuse the same, (which "was a Declaration would have been much valued "a Year or two before, and ought to have been fo "then) only defired to be left at Liberty to ship " and land their Goods as They had been accustom-"ed to; that They had given this Petition to a Se-"cretary of State to present it to the King, who " referred it to the Consideration of the Treasurer; "and thereupon They purfued it no further, know-"ing how He stood resolved, and the Cause of it, "which troubled them most, viz. that that Cus-"tom-House Quay did, though not in his own "Name, in Truth belong to Sir Abraham Dawes, "one of the Farmers of the Customs, and the only "Favourite of the Lord Treasurer, all the other "Farmers

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"Farmers being offended with the Order, which "They faw would offend the Merchants:" The Archbishop asked "where that Petition was, that "He thought it still of that Moment that He "would be glad to fee it:" He answered, "He "knew not where it was; but He believed it to re-" main in the Hands of Mr. Hyde, who had drawn it, "and was of Council with the Merchants through-"out the whole Proceedings; and was fo warm in "it, that He had exceedingly provoked the Lord "Treasurer, who would have ruined him if He "could:" He asked who that Mr. Hyde was, and where He was; the other faid, "He was a young Mr. Harvey "Lawyer of the Middle Temple, who was not afraid mentions Mr. Hyde to the "of being of Council with them, when all Men of Archbishop. "Name durst not appear for them; and that He "was confident that He, having been always pre-"fent at all Debates, remembered many Circumstan-"ces in the Business which the other had forgotten; "that He was generally known; and had lately mar-

" ried the Daughter of Sir Thomas Aylesbury." WITHIN a few Days after, the Archbishop meeting Sir Thomas Aylesbury at Court, asked him whether He had married his Daughter to one Mr. Hyde a Lawyer, and where He was; He answered, He had done so, and that He lived in his House, when He was not at his Chamber in the Middle Temple: The Archbishop desired him to fend him to Him, for He heard well of him; and the next Morning He attended him, and found him walking alone in Mr. Hvde his Garden at Lambeth; He received him civilly ac-attends the cording to his Manner, without much Ceremony; and prefently asked him, whether He had not been of Council with fome Merchants in fuch a Bufiness, and where that Petition now was; He answered him, not knowing why He asked, "that He had "been about two Years past, of Council with some "Merchants about fuch an Affair, in which the Earl

of Portland had been much incenfed against him; (14) "that He remembred He had drawn fuch a Peti-"tion, which was figned by all the confiderable "Merchants of London, but that there was little "Progress made thereupon, by Reason of the As-"perity of the Treasurer:" He asked still for the Petition that was fo figned; He told him, He thought He had it himself; if He had it not, He was confident He could find who had it: He defired him, that He would find it out, and bring it to him, and any other Papers concerning that Affair, or the Business of the Customs: He said, "the "King had, contrary to his Desire, made him one "of the Commissioners of the Treasury; that He "understood nothing of that Province, but was "willing to take any Pains which might enable him "to do his Master Service, which made him inqui-"fitive into the Customs, the principal Branch of "the Revenue; that his Neighbour Daniel Harvey "had spoken much Good of him to Him; and in-"formed him of that Complaint of the Merchants, "which He thought had much Reason in it, but it "was like other Acts of the Earl of Portland; that "He would be willing to receive any Information "from him, and that He should be welcome when "He came to him." He told him, in short (which He heard would please him best) two or three Pasfages that happened in that Transaction; and some haughty Expressions which fell from the Treasurer, when upon his urging that the Farmers would not hold their Farm, if He did not strictly hold the Merchants to Custom-House Quay; He told him, "that if the Farmers were weary of their Bargain, "He would help the King to forty thousand Pounds "a Year above the Rent They paid, and that They " should be paid all the Money They had advanced "within one Week;" upon which the Earl indeed had let himself out into an indecent Rage, using many

many Threats to him; which He found was not ingrateful to the Archbishop, upon whom He attended within a Day or two again, and delivered him the Petition, and many other useful Papers, which pleased him abundantly; and He required him to fee him often.

By this Accident Mr. Hyde came first to be known to the Archbishop, who ever afterwards used him very kindly, and spoke well of him upon all Occafions, and took particular Notice of him when He came of Council in any Causes depending at the Council Board, as He did frequently; and defired his Service in many Occasions, and particularly in the raising Monies for the building St. Paul's Church, in which He made a Journey or two into Wiltshire with good Success; which the Archbishop still acknowledged, in a more obliging Way than He was accustomed to; infomuch as it was so much taken Notice of, that Mr. Hyde (who well knew how to cultivate those Advantages) was used with more Mr. Hyde re-Countenance by all the Judges in Westminster-Hall, raggement in and the eminent Practifers, than was usually given bis Profession. to Men of his Years; so that He grew every Day in Practice, of which He had as much as He defired, and having a competent Estate of his own, He enjoyed a very pleasant and a plentiful Life, living much above the Rank of those Lawyers, whose Bufiness was only to be rich; and was generally beloved and esteemed by most Persons of Condition and great Reputation, Though He purfued his Profession with great Diligence and Intentness of Mind, and upon the Matter wholly betook himself to Business, yet He made not himself a Slave to it; but kept both his Friends at Court, and about the Town, by his frequent Application and constant Conversation; in Order to which, He always gave His Method himself at Dinner to those who used to meet toge- of spending ther at that Hour, and in fuch Places as was mu-

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tually agreed between them; where They enjoyed(15) themselves with great Delight, and publick Reputation, for the Innocence, and Sharpness, and Learning of their Conversation: For He would never suffer himself to be deprived of some Hours (which commonly He borrowed from the Night) to refresh himself with polite Learning, in which He still made fome Progress: The Afternoons He entirely dedicated to the Business of his Profession, taking Instructions and the like; and very rarely supped, except He was called out by some of his Friends, who fpared him the more, because He always complied with those Summons; otherwise He never supped, for many Years (before the Troubles brought in that Cuftom) both for the gaining that Time for himself, and that He might rife early in the Morning according to his Custom, and which He would fay, He could never do when He supped. The Vacations He gave wholly to his Study and Conversation, never going out of London in those Seasons, except for two Months in the Summer, which He fpent at his own House in the Country, with great Cheerfulness amongst his Friends, who then resorted to him in good Numbers.

HE never did ride any Country Circuits with the Judges, which He often repented afterwards, faying, that besides the knowing the Gentry, and People, and Manners of England (which is best attained that Way) there is a very good and necessary Part of the Learning in the Law, which is not so easily got any other Way, as in riding those Circuits, which as it seems to have much of Drudgery, so is accompanied with much Pleasure and Prosit; and it may be, the long Lives of Men of that Profession (for the Lawyers usually live to more Years than any other Profession) may very reasonably be imputed to the Exercise They give themselves by their Circuits, as well as to their other Acts of Tem-

perance and Sobriety: And as He had denied himfelr that Satisfaction purely to have that Time to himself for other Delight, so He did resolve, if the Confusion of the Time had not surprised him, for three or four Years, (longer He did not intend) to have improved himself by the Experience of those Tournies.

H & was often heard to fay, that, " next the im-" mediate Bleffing and Providence of God Almigh-"ty, which had preferved him throughout the whole "Course of his Life (less strict than it ought to have "been) from many Dangers and Disadvantages, in "which many other young Men were loft, He ow-"ed all the little He knew, and the little Good "that was in him, to the Friendships and Conver-"fation He had still been used to, of the most ex-"cellent Men in their several Kinds that lived in "that Age; by whose Learning, and Information, " and Instruction, He formed his Studies, and mend-"ed his Understanding; and by whose Gentleness " and Sweetness of Behaviour, and Justice, and Vir-"tue, and Example, He formed his Manners, fub-"dued that Pride, and suppressed that Heat and Pas-" fion He was naturally inclined to be transported "with." And He never took more Pleasure in any Thing, than in frequently mentioning and naming those Persons, who were then his Friends, or of his most familiar Conversation; and in remembring their particular Virtues and Faculties; and used often to fay, "that He never was fo proud, or thought "himself so good a Man, as when He was the worst "Man in the Company;" all his Friends and Companions being in their Quality, in their Fortunes, at least in their Faculties and Endowments of Mind, very much his Superiours; and He always charged his Children to follow his Example in that Point, in making their Friendships and Conversation; protesting, that in the whole Course of his Life, He never knew one Man, of what Condition foever, arrive to any Degree of Reputation in the World, who made choice or delighted in the Company or Con-(16) versation of those, who in their Qualities were inferiour, or in their Parts-not much superiour to himself.

Some Account Student of the

Character of Ben. Johnfon.

WHILST He was only a Student of the Law, Acquaintance and stood at Gaze, and irresolute what Course of Life to take, his chief Acquaintance were Ben. Johnson, John Selden, Charles Cotton, John Vaughan, Sir Kenelm Digby, Thomas May, and Thomas Carew, and fome others of eminent Faculties in their feveral Ways. Ben. Johnson's Name can never be forgotten, having by his very good Learning, and the Severity of his Nature and Manners, very much reformed the Stage; and indeed the English Poetry itself: His natural Advantages were, Judgment to order and govern Fancy, rather than Excels of Fancy, his Productions being flow and upon Deliberation, yet then abounding with great Wit and Fancy, and will live accordingly; and furely as He did exceedingly exalt the English Language in Eloquence, Propriety, and masculine Expressions; so He was the best Judge of, and fittest to prescribe Rules to Poetry and Poets, of any Man who had lived with, or before him, or fince: If Mr. Cowley had not made a Flight beyond all Men, with that Modesty yet, to afcribe much of this, to the Example and Learning of Ben. Johnson. His Conversation was very good, and with the Men of most Note; and He had for many Years an extraordinary Kindness for Mr. Hyde, till He found He betook himself to Business, which He believed ought never to be preferred before his Company: He lived to be very old, and till the Palfy made a deep Impression upon his Body, and his Mind.

Of Mr. Sel-

MR. SELDEN was a Person, whom no Character can flatter, or transmit in any Expressions equal to his Merit and Virtue; He was of fo stupendous Learning

Learning in all Kinds, and in all Languages (as may appear in his excellent and transcendent Writings) that a Man would have thought He had been entirely conversant amongst Books, and had never fpent an Hour but in Reading and Writing; yet his Humanity, Courtely, and Affability was fuch, that He would have been thought to have been bred in the best Courts, but that his good Nature, Charity, and Delight in doing good, and in communicating all He knew, exceeded that Breeding: His Stile in all his Writings feems harsh and fometimes obscure; which is not wholly to be imputed to the abstruse Subjects of which He commonly treated, out of the Paths trod by other Men; but to a little undervaluing the Beauty of a Stile, and too much Propenlity to the Language of Antiquity; but in his Conversation He was the most clear Discourser, and had the best Faculty in making hard Things easy, and presenting them to the Understanding, of any Man that hath been known. Mr. Hyde was wont to fay, that He valued himfelf upon nothing more than upon having had Mr. Selden's Aequaintance from the Time He was very young; and held it with great Delight as long as They were suffered to continue together in London; and He was very much troubled always when He heard him blamed, cenfured, and reproached, for staying in London, and in the Parliament, after They were in Rebellion, and in the worst Times, which his Age obliged him to do; and how wicked foever the Actions were, which were every Day done, He was confident He had not given his Confent to them; but would have hindered them if He could, with his own Safety, to which He was always enough indulgent. If He had some Infirmities with other Men, They were weighed down with wonderful and prodigious Abilities and Excellencies in the other Scale.

of Mr. Cot- CHARLES COTTON was a Gentleman born to a (17) competent Fortune, and so qualified in his Person, and Education, that for many Years He continued the greatest Ornament of the Town, in the Esteem of those who had been best bred: His natural Parts were very great, his Wit flowing in all the Parts of Conversation; the Superstructure of Learning not raised to a considerable Height, but having passed some Years in Cambridge, and then in France, and conversing always with learned Men, his Expressions were ever proper, and fignificant, and gave great Lustre to his Discourse, upon any Argument; so that He was thought by those who were not intimate with him, to have been much better acquainted with Books than He was. He had all those Qualities which in Youth raise Men to the Reputation of being fine Gentlemen; fuch a Pleasantness and Gaiety of Humour, fuch a Sweetness and Gentleness of Nature, and such a Civility and Delightfulness in Conversation, that no Man in the Court, or out of it, appeared a more accomplished Person; all these extraordinary Qualifications being supported by as extraordinary a Clearness of Courage, and Fearlessness of Spirit, of which He gave too often Manifestation. Some unhappy Suits in Law, and Waste of his Fortune in those Suits, made some Impression upon his Mind; which being improved by domestick Afflictions, and those Indulgences to himself, which naturally attend those Afflictions. rendered his Age less reverenced, than his Youth had been; and gave his best Friends Cause to have wished, that He had not lived so long.

Of Mr. Vaughan,

JOHN VAUGHAN was then a Student of the Law in the Inner Temple, but at that Time indulged more to the politer Learning; and was in Truth a Man of great Parts of Nature, and very well adorned by Arts and Books; and fo much cherished by Mr. Selden, that He grew to be of entire Trust and Friend-

fhip.

ship with him, and to that owed the best Part of his Reputation; for He was of fo magisterial and supercilious a Humour, so proud and insolent a Behaviour, that all Mr. Selden's Instructions, and Authority, and Example, could not file off that Roughness of his Nature, so as to make him very grateful. He looked most into those Parts of the Law, which disposed him to least Reverence to the Crown, and most, to popular Authority; yet without Inclination to any Change in Government; and therefore, before the Beginning of the Civil War, and when He clearly discerned the Approaches to it in Parliament, (of which He was a Member) He withdrew himself into the Fastnesses of his own Country, North Wales, where He enjoyed a fecure, and as near an innocent Life, as the Iniquity of that Time would permit; and upon the Return of King Charles the Second He appeared under the Character of a Man, who had preferved his Loyalty entire, and was esteemed accordingly by all that Party.

His Friend Mr. Hyde, who was then become Lord High Chancellor of England, renewed his old Kindness and Friendship towards him, and was defirous to gratify him all the Ways He could, and earnestly pressed him to put on his Gown again, and take upon him the Office of a Judge; but He excused himself upon his long Discontinuance (having not worn his Gown, and wholly discontinued the Profession from the Year 1640, full twenty Years) and upon his Age, and expressly resused to receive any Promotion; but continued all the Professions of Respect and Gratitude imaginable to the Chancellor, till it was in his Power to manifest the contrary, to his Prejudice, which He did with Cir-

cumftances very uncommendable.

(18) STR Kenelm Digby was a Person very eminent and Of Sir Kenotorious throughout the whole Course of his Life, nelm Digby. from his Cradle to his Grave; of an antient Family Vol. I.

ly and noble Extraction; and inherited a fair and plentiful Fortune, notwithstanding the Attainder of his Father. He was a Man of a very extraordinary Person and Presence, which drew the Eyes of all Men upon him, which were more fixed by a wonderful graceful Behaviour, a flowing Courtefy and Civility, and fuch a Volubility of Language, as furprised, and delighted; and though in another Man it might have appeared to have somewhat of Affectation, it was marvellous graceful in him, and feemed natural to his Size, and Mould of his Person, to the Gravity of his Motion, and the Tune of his Voice and Delivery. He had a fair Reputation in Arms, of which He gave an early Testimony in his Youth, in fome Encounters in Spain, and Italy, and afterwards in an Action in the Mediterranean Sea, where He had the Command of a Squadron of Ships of War fet out at his own Charge under the King's Commission; with which, upon an Injury received, or apprehended from the Venetians, He encountered their whole Fleet, killed many of their Men, and funk one of their Galeasses; which in that drowfy and unactive Time was looked upon with a general Estimation, though the Crown disavowed it. In a Word, He had all the Advantages that Nature, and Art, and an excellent Education could give him, which, with a great Confidence and Prefentness of Mind, buoyed him up against all those Prejudices, and Disadvantages, (as the Attainder and Execution of his Father for a Crime of the highest Nature; his own Marriage with a Lady. though of an extraordinary Beauty, of as extraordinary a Fame; his changing, and re-changing his Religion; and some personal Vices, and Licenses in his Life) which would have suppressed and sunk any other Man, but never clouded or eclipfed him, from appearing in the best Places, and the best Company, and with the best Estimation and Satisfaction.

THOMAS

THOMAS MAY was the eldest Son of his Father, of M. May. a Knight, and born to a Fortune, if his Father had not spent it; so that He had only an Annuity left him, not proportionable to a liberal Education; yet fince his Fortune could not raise his Mind, He brought his Mind down to his Fortune, by a great Modesty and Humility in his Nature, which was not affected, but very well became an Imperfection in his Speech, which was a great Mortification to him, and kept him from entering upon any Difcourse but in the Company of his very Friends. His Parts of Nature and Art were very good, as appears by his Translation of Lucan (none of the easiest Work of that Kind) and more by his Supplement to Lucan, which being entirely his own, for the Learning, the Wit, and the Language, may be well looked upon as one of the best Epic Poems in the English Language; He writ some other commendable Pieces of the Reign of some of our Kings; He was cherished by many Persons of Honour, and very acceptable in all Places; yet (to shew that Pride and Envy have their Influences upon the narrowest Minds, and which have the greateft Semblance of Humility) though He had received much Countenance, and a very confiderable Donative from the King, upon his Majesty's refufing to give him a small Pension, which He had defigned and promised to another very ingenious Person, whose Qualities He thought inferiour to his own, He fell from his Dury, and all his former Friends; and proftituted himself to the vile Office of celebrating the infamous Acts of those who were in Rebellion against the King; which He did so meanly, that He feemed to all Men to have loft his (19) Wits, when He left his Honesty; and so shortly after, died miserable and neglected; and deserves to be forgotten.

Of Mr. Carew.

THOMAS CAREW was a younger Brother of a good Family, and of excellent Parts, and had spent many Years of his Youth in France, and Italy; and returning from Travel, followed the Court; which the Modesty of that Time disposed Men to do some Time, before They pretended to be of it; and He was wery much efteemed by the most eminent Perfons in the Court, and well looked upon by the King himself, some Years, before He could obtain to be Sewer to the King; and when the King conferred that Place upon him, it was not without the Regret even of the whole Scotch Nation, which united themselves in recommending another Gentleman to it; of fo great Value were those Relations. held in that Age, when Majesty was beheld with the Reverence it ought to be. He was a Person of a pleasant and facetious Wit, and made many Poems (especially in the amorous Way) which for the Sharpness of the Fancy, and the Elegancy of the Language, in which that Fancy was spread, were at least equal, if not superiour to any of that Time: But his Glory was, that after fifty Years of his Life fpent with less Severity or Exactness than it ought to have been, He died with the greatest Remorse for that License, and with the greatest Manifestation of Christianity, that his best Friends could defire.

Among these Persons Mr. Hyde's usual Time of Conversation was spent, till He grew more retired to his more ferious Studies, and never discontinued his Acquaintance with any of them, though He fpent less Time in their Company; only upon Mr. Selden He looked with fo much Affection and Reverence, that He always thought himself best, when He was with him; but He had then another Conjunction and Communication that He took fo much Delight in, that He embraced it in the Time of his greatest Business and Practice, and would suffer no other

other Pretence, or Obligation to withdraw him from that Familiarity and Friendship; and took frequent Characters of Occasions to mention their Names with great Plea- more intimate fure; being often heard to fay, "that if He had Friends. "any Thing good in him, in his Humour, or in "his Manners, He owed it to the Example, and "the Information He had received in, and from "that Company, with most of whom He had an "entire Friendship:" And they were in Truth, in their feveral Qualifications, Men of more than ordinary Eminence, before They attained the great Preferments many of them lived to enjoy: The Persons were, Sir Lucius Carey, eldest Son to the Lord Viscount Falkland, Lord Deputy of Ireland; Sir Francis Wenman of Oxfordsbire; Sidney Godolphin of Godolphin in Cornwall; Edmund Waller of Beconffield; Dr. Gilbert Sheldon; Dr. George Morley; Dr. John Earles; Mr. John Hales of Eton; and Mr. William Chillingworth.

WITH Sir Lucius Carey He had a most entire of Sir Lucius Friendship without Reserve, from his Age of twenty Years, to the Hour of his Death, near twenty

Years after; upon which there will be Occasion to enlarge when We come to speak of that Time, and often before, and therefore We shall say no more of him in this Place, than to fhew his Condition, and Qualifications, which were the first Ingredients into that Friendship, which was afterwards cultivated, and improved by a constant Conversation and Familiarity, and by many Accidents which contributed thereto. He had the Advantage of a noble Extraction, and of being born his Father's eldest Son, when there was a greater Fortune in Prospect to be inherited (besides what He might reasonably expect

(20) by his Mother) than came afterwards to his Poffeffion. His Education was equal to his Birth, at least in the Care, if not in the Climate; for his Father being Deputy of Ireland, before He was of Age fit

to be fent abroad, his Breeding was in the Court, and in the University of Dublin; but under the Care, Vigilance, and Direction of fuch Governors and Tutors, that He learned all those Exercises and Languages, better than most Men do in more celebrated Places; infomuch as when He came into England, which was when He was about the Age of eighteen Years, He was not only Master of the Latin Tongue, and had read all the Poets, and other of the best Authors with notable Judgment for that Age, but He understood, and spake, and writ French, as if He had spent many Years in France.

HE had another Advantage, which was a great Ornament to the rest, that was, a good, a plentiful Estate, of which He had the early Possession. His Mother was the fole Daughter and Heir of the Lord Chief Baron Tanfield, who having given a fair Portion with his Daughter in Marriage, had kept himself free to dispose of his Land, and his other Estate, in such Manner as He should think sit; and He fettled it in fuch Manner upon his Grandfon Sir Lucius Carey, without taking Notice of his Father, or Mother, that upon his Grandmother's Death, which fell out about the Time that He was nineteen Years of Age, all the Land, with two very good Houses very well furnished (worth above 1,2000 per Annum) in a most pleasant Country, and the two most pleasant Places in that Country, with a very plentiful personal Estate, fell into his Hands and Possession, and to his entire Disposal.

WITH these Advantages, He had one great Difadvantage (which in the first Entrance into the World is attended with too much Prejudice) in his Person and Presence, which was in no Degree attractive or promiting: His Stature was low, and smaller than most Men; his Motion not graceful; and his Aspect so far from inviting, that it had

fome-

fomewhat in it of Simplicity; and his Voice the worst of the three, and so untuned, that instead of reconciling, it offended the Ear, fo that Nobody would have expected Musick from that Tongue; and fure no Man was lefs beholden to Nature for its Recommendation into the World; but then no Man fooner, or more disappointed this general and customary Prejudice; that little Person and small Stature was quickly found to contain a great Heart, a Courage so keen, and a Nature so fearless, that no Composition of the strongest Limbs, and most harmonious and proportioned Presence and Strength. ever more disposed any Man to the greatest Enterprize; it being his greatest Weakness to be too solicitous for such Adventures; and that untuned Tongue and Voice eafily discovered itself to be fupplied, and governed, by a Mind and Understanding so excellent, that the Wit and Weight of all He faid, carried another Kind of Lustre and Admiration in it, and even another Kind of Acceptation from the Persons present, than any Ornament of Delivery could reasonably promise itself, or is usually attended with; and his Disposition and Nature was fo gentle and obliging, fo much delighted in Courtefy, Kindness, and Generosity, that all Mankind could not but admire, and love him.

In a short Time after He had Possession of the Estate his Grandfather had left him, and before He was of Age, He committed a Fault against his Father, in marrying a young Lady, whom He passionately loved, without any considerable Portion, which exceedingly offended him: and disappointed all his reasonable Hopes and Expectation, of redeeming and repairing his own broken Fortune, (21) and desperate Hopes in Court, by some advantageous Marriage of his Son; about which He had then some probable Treaty. Sir Lucius Carey was very conscious to himself of his Offence and Transgress.

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fion, and the Consequence of it, which though He could not repent, having married a Lady of a most extraordinary Wit, and Judgment, and of the most fignal Virtue, and exemplary Life, that the Age produced, and who brought him many hopeful Children, in which He took great Delight; yet He confessed it, with the most sincere and dutiful Applications to his Father for his Pardon, that could be made; and for the Prejudice He had brought upon his Fortune by bringing no Portion to him, He offered to repair it, by refigning his whole Estate to his Disposal, and to rely wholly upon his Kindness for his own Maintenance and Support; and to that Purpose, He had caused Conveyances to be drawn by Council, which He brought ready engroffed to his Father, and was willing to feal, and execute them, that They might be valid; but his Father's Passion and Indignation so far transported him (though He was a Gentleman of excellent Parts,) that He refused any Reconciliation, and rejected all the Offers that were made him of the Eftate; fo that his Son remained still in the Possession of his Estate against his Will; for which He found great Reason afterwards to rejoice; but He was for the present, so much afflicted with his Father's Difpleasure, that He transported himself and his Wife into Holland, resolving to buy some military Command, and to spend the Remainder of his Life in that Profession; but being disappointed in the Treaty He expected, and finding no Opportunity to accommodate himself with such a Command, He returned again into England, resolving to retire to a Country Life, and to his Books; that fince He was not like to improve himself in Arms, He might advance in Letters.

In this Resolution He was so severe (as He was always naturally very intent upon what He was inclined to) that He declared, He would not fee London in many Years, which was the Place He loved of all the World; and that in his Studies, He would first apply himself to the Greek, and pursue it without Intermission, till He should attain to the full Understanding of that Tongue; and it is hardly to be credited, what Industry He used, and what Success attended that Industry; for though his Father's Death, by an unhappy Accident, made his Repair to London absolutely necessary, in sewer Years than He had proposed for his Absence; yet He had first made himself Master of the Greek Tongue (in the Latin He was very well versed before) and had read not only the Greek Historians, but Homer likewise, and such of the Poets as were worthy to be perused.

THOUGH his Father's Death brought no other Convenience to him, but a Title to redeem an Eftate, mortgaged for as much as it was worth, and for which He was compelled to fell a finer Seat of his own; yet it imposed a Burthen upon him, of the Title of a Viscount, and an Increase of Expense, in which He was not in his Nature too provident, or restrained; having naturally such a Generosity and Bounty in him, that He seemed to have his Estate in Trust, for all worthy Persons who stood in want of Supplies and Encouragement, as Ben. Johnson, and many others of that Time, whose Fortunes required, and whose Spirits made them superiour to, ordinary Obligations; which yet They were contented to receive from Him, because his Bounties were fo generously distributed, and so much without Vanity and Oftentation, that except from those few Persons, from whom He sometimes received the Characters of fit Objects for his Benefits, or whom He intrusted for the more fecret deriving (22) them to them, He did all He could, that the Perfons themselves who received them should not know from what Fountain They flowed; and when that

could not be concealed, He fustained any Acknow-

ledgment

ledgment from the Perfons obliged, with fo much Trouble, and Bashfulness, that They might well perceive, that He was even ashamed of the little He had given, and to receive so large a Recom-

pence for it.

As foon as He had finished all those Transactions, which the Death of his Father had made neceffary to be done, He retired again to his Country Life, and to his fevere Course of Study, which was very delightful to him, as foon as He was engaged in it; but He was wont to fay, that He never found Reluctancy in any Thing He refolved to do, but in his quitting London, and departing from the Conversation of those He enjoyed there; which was in fome Degree preserved, and continued by frequent Letters, and often Visits, which were made by his Friends from thence, whilft He continued wedded to the Country; and which were fo grateful to him, that during their Stay with him, He looked upon no Book, except their very Conversation made an Appeal to some Book; and truly his whole Converfation was one continued Convivium Philosophicum, or Convivium Theologicum, enlivened, and refreshed with all the Facetiousness of Wit, and Good-Humour, and Pleasantness of Discourse, which made the Gravity of the Argument itself (whatever it was) very delectable. His House where He usually refided (Tew, or Burford in Oxfordsbire) being within ten or twelve Miles of the University, looked like the University itself, by the Company that was always found there. There were Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Morley, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Earles, Mr. Chillingworth, and indeed all Men of eminent Parts and Faculties in Oxford, besides those who resorted thither from London; who all found their Lodgings there, as ready as in the Colleges, nor did the Lord of the House know of their coming, or going, nor who were in his House, till He came to Dinner, or Supper, where

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where all still met; otherwise, there was no troublefome Ceremony, or Constraint to forbid Men to
come to the House, or to make them weary of staying there; so that many came thither to study in a
better Air, finding all the Books They could destire, in his Library, and all the Persons together,
whose Company They could wish, and not find, in
any other Society. Here Mr. Chillingworth wrote,
and formed, and modelled his excellent Book against the learned Jesuit Mr. Nott, after frequent
Debates upon the most important Particulars; in
many of which, He suffered himself to be over-ruled by the Judgment of his Friends, though in
others He still adhered to his own Fancy, which
was sceptical enough, even in the highest Points.

In this happy and delightful Conversation, and Restraint, He remained in the Country many Years, and until He had made fo prodigious a Progress in Learning, that there were very few classick Authors in the Greek, or Latin Tongue, that He had not read with great Exactness; He had read all the Greek, and Latin Fathers; all the most allowed and authentick ecclefiaftical Writers; and all the Councils, with wonderful Care, and Observation; for in Religion He thought too careful and too curious an Enquiry could not be made, amongst those, whose Purity was not questioned, and whose Authority was conftantly and confidently urged by Men who were furthest from being of one Mind amongst themselves; and for the mutual Support of their feveral Opinions, in which They most contradicted each other; and in all those Controversies, He had fo dispassioned a Consideration, such a Candour in his Nature, and so profound a Charity in (23) his Conscience, that in those Points, in which He was in his own Judgment most clear, He never thought the worfe, or in any Degree declined the Familiarity, of those who were of another Mind;

which, without Question, is an excellent Temper for the Propagation, and Advancement of Chriftianity. With these great Advantages of Industry, He had a Memory retentive of all that He had ever read, and an Understanding and Judgment to apply it feafonably and appositely, with the most Dexterity and Address, and the least Pedantry and Affectation, that ever Man, who knew so much, was possessed with, of what Quality soever: It is not a trivial Evidence of his Learning, his Wit, and his Candour, that may be found in that Discourse of his against the Infallibility of the Church of Rome, published since his Death, and from a Copy under his own Hand, though not prepared and digested by him for the Press, and to which He

would have given some Castigations.

Bur all his Parts, Abilities, and Faculties, by Art and Industry, were not to be valued, or mentioned, in Comparison of his most accomplished Mind and Manners; his Gentleness, and Affability was fo transcendent and obliging, that it drew Reverence, and some Kind of Compliance from the roughest, and most unpolished, and stubborn Constitutions; and made them of another Temper in Debate, in his Presence, than They were in other Places: He was in his Nature fo fevere a Lover of Justice, and so precise a Lover of Truth, that He was fuperiour to all possible Temptations for the Violation of either; indeed so rigid an Exacter of Perfection, in all those Things which seemed but to border upon either of them, and by the common Practice of Men were not thought to border upon either, that many who knew him very well, and loved and admired his Virtue (as all who did know him must love and admire it) did believe, that He was of a Temper and Composition fitter to live in Republica Platonis, than in Face Romuli; but this Rigidness was only exercised towards himself; towards

wards his Friend's Infirmities no Man was more indulgent. In his Conversation, which was the most cheerful and pleafant that can be imagined, though He was young (for all I have yet spoken of him doth not exceed his Age of twenty-five or twenty-fix Years) and of great Gaiety in his Humour, with a flowing Delightfulness of Language, He had so chafte a Tongue, and Ear, that there was never known a profane or loofe Word to fall from him, nor in Truth in his Company; the Integrity and Cleanliness of the Wit of that Time not exercising itself in that License, before Persons for whom They

had any Esteem.

SIR Francis Wenman would not look upon him- of Sir Fran-felf under any other Character, than that of a Coun- cis Wen-man. try Gentleman; though no Man of his Quality in England was more efteemed in Court. He was of a noble Extraction, and of an antient Family in Oxfordsbire, where He was possessed of a competent Estate; but his Reputation of Wisdom and Integrity gave him an Interest and Credit in that Country, much above his Fortune; and no Man had more Esteem in it, or Power over it. He was a Neighbour to the Lord Falkland, and in so entire Friendship and Confidence with him, that He had great Authority in the Society of all his Friends, and Acquaintance. He was a Man of a great Sharpness of Understanding, and of a piercing Judgment; no Man better understood the Affections and Temper of the Kingdom, or indeed the Nature of the Nation, or discerned farther the Consequence of Counsels, and with what Success They were like to be attended. He was a very good Latin Scholar, but his Ratiocination was above his Learning; (24) and the Sharpness of his Wit incomparable: He was equal to the greatest Trust and Employment, if He had been ambitious of it, or folicitous for it; but his Want of Health produced a Kind of Lazi-

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ness of Mind, which difinclined him to Business. and He died a little before the general Troubles of the Kingdom, which He foresaw with wonderful Concern, and when many wife Men were weary of living fo long.

Of Mr. Sidney Godolphin.

SIDNEY GODOLPHIN was a younger Brother of Godolphin, but by the Provision left by his Father, and by the Death of a younger Brother, liberally supplied for a very good Education, and for a cheerful Subliftence, in any Course of Life He proposed to himself. There was never fo great a Mind and Spirit contained in fo little Room; fo large an Understanding, and so unrestrained a Fancy, in so very small a Body; fo that the Lord Falkland used to fay merrily, that He thought it was a great Ingredient into his Friendship for Mr. Godolphin, that He was pleafed to be found in his Company, where He was the properer Man; and it may be, the very Remarkableness of his little Person, made the Sharpness of his Wit, and the composed Quickness of his Judgment and Understanding, the more notable. He had spent some Years in France, and in the Low-Countries; and accompanied the Earl of Leicester in his Ambassage into Denmark, before He resolved to be quiet, and attend some Promotion in the Court; where his excellent Disposition and Manners, and extraordinary Qualifications, made him very acceptable. Though every Body loved his Company very well, yet He loved very much to be alone, being in his Constitution inclined somewhat to Melancholy, and to Retirement amongst his Books; and was so far from being active, that He was contented to be reproached by his Friends with Laziness; and was of so nice and tender a Compofition, that a little Rain or Wind would diforder him, and divert him from any short Journey, He had most willingly proposed to himself; insomuch, as when He rid abroad with those in whose Company

pany He most delighted, if the Wind chanced to be in his Face, he would (after a little pleafant murmuring) fuddenly turn his Horse, and go Home: Yet the Civil War no fooner began (the first Approaches towards which He discovered as soon as any Man, by the Proceedings in Parliament, where He was a Member, and opposed with great Indignation) than He put himself into the first Troops which were raised in the West for the King; and bore the Uneasiness and Fatigue of Winter Marches with an exemplar Courage and Alacrity; until by too brave a Pursuit of the Enemy into an obfcure Village in Devonsbire, He was shot with a Musket; with which (without faying any Word more, than, Ob God, I am burt) He fell dead from his Horse; to the excessive Grief of his Friends, who were all that knew him; and the irreparable Damage of the Public.

EDMUND WALLER was born to a very fair Ef- of Mr. Edtate, by the Parlimony, or Frugality, of a wife Fa- mund Walther and Mother; and He thought it so commendable an Advantage, that He resolved to improve it with his utmost Care, upon which in his Nature He was too much intent; and in Order to that, He was fo much referved and retired, that He was scarce ever heard of, till by his Address and Dexterity He had gotten a very rich Wife in the City, against all the Recommendation, and Countenance, and Authority of the Court, which was thoroughly engaged on the Behalf of Mr. Crofts; and which used to be successful in that Age, against any Opposition. He had the good Fortune to have an Alliance and Friendship with Dr. Morley, who had affifted, and instructed him in the reading many good Books, to which his natural Parts and Promptitude (25) inclined him, especially the Poets; and at the Age when other Men used to give over writing Verses (for He was near thirty Years of Age, when He

first engaged himself in that Exercise, at least, that He was known to do fo) He furprised the Town with two or three Pieces of that Kind; as if a tenth Muse had been newly born, to cherish drooping Poetry. The Doctor at that Time brought him into that Company, which was most celebrated for good Conversation; where He was received, and esteemed, with great Applause, and Respect. He was a very pleafant Discourser, in Earnest, and in Jest, and therefore very grateful to all Kind of Company, where He was not the less esteemed for being

very rich.

HE had been even nurfed in Parliaments, where He fat when He was very young; and fo when They were refumed again (after a long Intermiffion) He appeared in those Assemblies with great Advantage; having a graceful Way of speaking, and by thinking much upon feveral Arguments (which his Temper and Complexion, that had much of Melancholic, inclined him to) He feemed often to speak upon the sudden, when the Occasion had only administred the Opportunity of faying what He had thoroughly confidered, which gave a great Lustre to all He said; which yet was rather of Delight, than Weight. There needs no more be faid to extol the Excellence and Power of his Wit, and Pleasantness of his Conversation, than that it was of Magnitude enough to cover a World of very great Faults; that is, fo to cover them, that They were not taken Notice of to his Reproach; viz. a Narrowness in his Nature to the lowest Degree; an Abjectness, and Want of Courage to support him in any virtuous Undertaking; an Infinuation, and fervile Flattery to the Height, the vainest, and most imperious Nature could be contented with; that it preserved and won his Life from those, who were most resolved to take it; and in an Occasion in which He ought to have been ambitious to have loft

loft it; and then preserved him again, from the Reproach and Contempt that was due to him, for fo preferving it, and for vindicating it at fuch a Price; that it had Power to reconcile him to those whom He had most offended and provoked; and continued to his Age with that rare Felicity, that his Company was acceptable, where his Spirit was odious; and He was at least pitied, where He was most detested.

OF Doctor Sheldon there needs no more be faid of Dr. Shelin this Place, than that his Learning, and Gravity, and Prudence, had in that Time raifed him to fuch a Reputation, when He was Chaplain in the House to the Lord Keeper Coventry (who exceedingly efteemed him, and used his Service not only in all Matters relating to the Church, but in many other Businesses of Importance, and in which that great and good Lord was nearly concerned) and when He was afterwards Warden of All Souls College in Oxford, that He then was looked upon, as very equal to any Preferment the Church could yield, or hath fince yielded unto him; and Sir Francis Wenman would often fay, when the Doctor reforted to the Conversation at the Lord Falkland's House, as He frequently did, that "Dr. Sheldon was born and "bred to be Archbishop of Canterbury."

DOCTOR Morley was a Gentleman of very emi- of Dr. Mornent Parts in all polite Learning; of great Wit, and Readiness, and Subtilty in Disputation; and of remarkable Temper, and Prudence in Conversation, which rendered him most grateful in all the best Company. He was then Chaplain in the House, and to the Family, of the Lord and Lady Carnarvon, which needed a wife, and a wary Director. From some academick Contests He had been engaged in during his living in Christ Church in Oxford, (26) where He was always of the first Eminency, He had by the natural Faction and Animosity of those

Vol. I. Disputes Disputes fallen under the Reproach of holding some Opinions, which were not then grateful to those Churchmen, who had the greatest Power in eccle-fiastical Promotions; and some sharp Answers and Replies, He used to make in accidental Discourses, and which in Truth were made for Mirth and Pleasantness Sake (as He was of the highest Facetiousness) were reported, and spread abroad to his Prejudice; as being once asked by a grave Country Gentleman (who was desirous to be instructed what their Tenets and Opinions were) "what the Armiminans held," He pleasantly answered, that They beld all the best Bishopricks and Deancries in England; which was quickly reported abroad, as Mr. Morley's

Definition of the Arminian Tenets.

Such and the like harmless and jocular Sayings, upon many accidental Occasions, had wrought upon the Archbishop of Canterbury, Laud, (who lived to change his Mind, and to have a just Esteem of him) to entertain some Prejudice towards him; and the Respect which was paid him by many eminent Persons, as John Hampden, Arthur Goodwin, and others, who were not thought Friends to the Profperity the Church was in, made others apprehend that He was not enough zealous for it: But that Difaffection, and Virulency (which few Men had then owned and discovered) no sooner appeared in those and other Men, but Dr. Morley made Haste as publickly to oppose them, both in private and in publick; which had the more Effect to the Benefit of the Church, by his being a Person above all possible Reproach, and known and valued by more Persons of Honour than most of the Clergy were; and being not only without the Envy of any Preferment, but under the Advantage of a discounrenanced Person: And as He was afterwards the late King's Chaplain, and much regarded by him, and as long about him as any of his Chaplains were

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were permitted to attend him; so presently after his Murder, He left the Kingdom, and remained in Banishment, till King Charles the Second's happy Return.

DOCTOR Earles was at that Time Chaplain in of Dr. the House to the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Chamber- Earles. lain of his Majesty's Houshold, and had a Lodging in the Court under that Relation: He was a Person very notable for his Elegance in the Greek, and Latin Tongues; and being Fellow of Merton College in Oxford, and having been Proctor of the Univerfity, and some very witty and sharp Discourses being published in Print without his Consent, though known to be his, He grew fuddenly into a very general Esteem with all Men; being a Man of great Piety and Devotion; a most eloquent and powerful Preacher; and of a Conversation so pleasant and delightful, so very innocent, and so very facetious, that no Man's Company was more defired, and more loved. No Man was more negligent in his Drefs, and Habit, and Mien; no Man more wary. and cultivated, in his Behaviour, and Discourse infomuch as He had the greater Advantage when He was known, by promising so little before He was known. He was an excellent Poet, both in Latin, Greek, and English, as appears by many Pieces yet abroad; though He suppressed many more himself, especially of English, incomparably good, out of an Austerity to those Sallies of his Youth. He was very dear to the Lord Falkland, with whom He spent as much Time as He could make his own; and as that Lord would impute the speedy Progress He made in the Greek Tongue, to the Information and Affiftance He had from Mr. Eurles. fo Mr. Earles would frequently profess, that He had got more useful Learning by his Conversation at Tew (the Lord Falkland's House) than He had at (27) Oxford. In the first settling of the Prince his Fami-

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ly, He was made one of his Chaplains; and attended on him when He was forced to leave the Kingdom. He was amongst the few excellent Men who never had, nor ever could have an Enemy, but fuch a one, who was an Enemy to all Learning. and Virtue, and therefore would never make himfelf known.

Of Mr. Hales.

Mr. JOHN HALES had been Greek Professor in the University of Oxford; and had borne the greatest Part of the Labour of that excellent Edition and Impression of St. Chrysostom's Works, set out by Sir Harry Savile; who was then Warden of Merton College, when the other was Fellow of that House. He was Chaplain in the House with Sir Dudley Carleton, Ambassadour at the Hague in Holland, at the Time when the Synod of Dort was held, and fo had Liberty to be present at the Consultations in that Assembly; and hath left the best Memorial behind him of the Ignorance, and Passion, and Animosity, and Injustice of that Convention; of which He often made very pleasant Relations; though at that Time it received too much Countenance from England. Being a Person of the greatest Eminency for Learning and other Abilities, from which He might have promifed himself any Preferment in the Church, He withdrew himself from all Pursuits of that Kind, into a private Fellowship in the College of Eton, where his Friend Sir Harry Savile was Provost; where He lived amongst his Books, and the most separated from the World of any Man then living; though He was not in the least Degree inclined to Melancholy, but on the contrary, of a very open and pleafant Conversation; and therefore was very well pleafed with the Refort of his Friends to him, who were fuch as He had chosen, and in whose Company He delighted, and for whose Sake He would fometimes, once in a Year, refort to London, only to enjoy their cheerful Conversation. HE

HE would never take any Cure of Souls; and was fo great a Contemner of Money, that He was wont to fay, that his Fellowship, and the Bursar's Place (which for the Good of the College He held many Years) was worth him fifty Pounds a Year more than He could spend; and yet, besides his being very charitable to all poor People, even to Liberality, He had made a greater and better Collection of Books than were to be found in any other private Library that I have feen; as He had fure read more, and carried more about him in his excellent Memory, than any Man I ever knew, my Lord Falkland only excepted, who I think fided him. He had, whether from his natural Temper and Constitution, or from his long Retirement from all Crowds, or from his profound Judgment, and discerning Spirit, contracted some Opinions, which were not received, nor by him published, except in private Discourses; and then rather upon Occasion of Dispute, than of positive Opinion; and He would often fay, his Opinions He was fure did Him no Harm, but He was far from being confident that They might not do others Harm, who entertained them, and might entertain other Refults from them than He did; and therefore He was very referved in communicating what He thought Himself in those Points, in which He differed from what was received.

Nothing troubled him more than the Brawls which were grown from Religion; and He therefore exceedingly detested the Tyranny of the Church of Rome; more for their imposing uncharitably upon the Consciences of other Men, than for the Errors in their own Opinions; and would often say, that He would renounce the Religion of the Church of England to morrow, if it obliged him to believe (28) that any other Christians should be damned; and that no Body would conclude another Man to be D 2 damned,

damned, who did not wish him so. No Man more ftrict and fevere to himself; to other Men so charitable as to their Opinions, that He thought that other Men were more in Fault for their Carriage towards them, than the Men themselves were, who erred; and He thought that Pride, and Passion, more than Conscience, were the Cause of all Separation from each others Communion; and He frequently faid, that that only kept the World from agreeing upon fuch a Liturgy, as might bring them into one Communion; all doctrinal Points upon which Men differed in their Opinions being to have no Place in any Liturgy. Upon an occasional Discourse with a Friend, of the frequent, and uncharitable Reproaches of Heretick, and Schifmatick, too lightly thrown at each other, amongst Men who differ in their Judgment, He writ a little Discourse of Schism, contained in less than two Sheets of Paper; which being transmitted from Friend to Friend in Writing, was at last, without any Malice, brought to the View of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Laud, who was a very rigid Surveyor of all Things which never so little bordered upon Schism; and thought the Church could not be too vigilant against, and jealous of such Incursions.

HE fent for Mr. Hales, whom, when They had both lived in the University of Oxford, He had known well; and told him, that He had in Truth believed him to be long fince dead; and chid him very kindly for having never come to him, having been of his old Acquaintance; then afked him, whether He had lately writ a short Discourse of Schism, and whether He was of that Opinion, which that Discourse implied. He told him, that He had, for the Satisfaction of a private Friend (who was not of his Mind) a Year or two before, writ fuch a small Tract, without any Imagination that it would be communicated; and that He believed

lieved it did not contain any Thing, that was not agreeable to the Judgmene of the Primitive Fathers; upon which, the Archbishop debated with him upon some Expressions of Ireneus, and the most antient Fathers; and concluded with faving. that the Time was very apt to fet new Doctrines on Foot, of which the Wits of the Age were too susceptible; and that there could not be too much Care taken to preserve the Peace and Unity of the Church; and from thence asked him of his Condition, and whether He wanted any Thing, and the other answering, that He had enough, and wanted, or defired no Addition, fo dismissed him with great Courtefy; and shortly after sent for him again, when there was a Prebendary of Windfor fallen, and told him, the King had given him the Preferment, because it lay so convenient to his Fellowship of Eton; which (though indeed the most convenient Preferment that could be thought of for him) the Archbishop could not without great Difficulty persuade him to accept, and He did accept it rather to please Him, than Himself; because He really believed He had enough before. He was one of the least Men in the Kingdom; and one of the greatest Scholars in Europe.

MR. CHILLINGWORTH was of a Stature little fu-of Mr. Chilperiour to Mr. Hales (and it was an Age, in which lingworth,
there were many great and wonderful Men of that
Size) and a Man of so great a Subtilty of Understanding, and so rare a Temper in Debate; that
as it was impossible to provoke him into any
Passion, so it was very difficult to keep a Man's
self from being a little discomposed by his Sharpness, and Quickness of Argument, and Instances,
in which He had a rare Facility, and a great Advantage over all the Men I ever knew. He had
spent all his younger Time in Disputation; and
spent all his younger Time in Disputation; and

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riour to no Man in those Skirmishes; but He had, with his notable Perfection in this Exercise, contracted fuch an Irrefolution, and Habit of doubting, that by Degrees He grew confident of Nothing, and a Sceptick at least, in the greatest Mysteries of Faith.

This made him from first wavering in Religion, and indulging to Scruples, to reconcile himself too foon, and too easily to the Church of Rome; and carrying still his own Inquisitiveness about him, without any Refignation to their Authority (which is the only Temper can make that Church fure of its Profelytes) having made a Journey to St. Omers, purely to perfect his Conversion, by the Conversation of those who had the greatest Name, He found as little Satisfaction there; and returned with as much Haste from them; with a Belief that an entire Exemption from Error was neither inherent in, nor necessary to any Church: Which occasioned that War, which was carried on by the Jesuits with fo great Asperity, and Reproaches against him, and in which He defended himself, by such an admirable Eloquence of Language, and clear and incomparable Power of Reason, that He not only made them appear unequal Adversaries, but carried the War into their own Quarters; and made the Pope's Infallibility to be as much shaken, and declined by their own Doctors (and as great an Acrimony amongst themselves upon that Subject) and to be at least as much doubted, as in the Schools of the Reformed or Protestant; and forced them fince, to defend and maintain those unhappy Controversies in Religion, with Arms and Weapons of another Nature, than were used, or known in the Church of Rome, when Bellarmine died; and which probably will in Time undermine the very Foundation that supports it.

Such a Levity, and Propenfity to change is commonly attended with great Infirmities in, and no less Reproach and Prejudice to the Person; but the Sincerity of his Heart was fo conspicuous and without the least Temptation of any corrupt End, and the Innocence and Candour in his Nature so evident and without any Perverseness; that all who knew him, clearly discerned, that all those restless Motions and Fluctuations proceeded only from the Warmth and Jealoufy of his own Thoughts, in a too nice Inquisition for Truth. Neither the Books of the Adversary, nor any of their Persons, though He was acquainted with the best of both, had ever made great Impression upon him; all his Doubts grew out of himself, when He assisted his Scruples with all the Strength of his own Reason, and was then too hard for himself; but finding as little Quiet and Repose in those Victories, He quickly recovered, by a new Appeal to his own Judgment; fo that He was in Truth, upon the Matter, in all his Sallies, and Retreats, his own Convert; though He was not fo totally divested of all Thoughts of this World, but that when He was ready for it, He admitted fome great and confiderable Churchmen, to be Sharers with him in his publick Conversion.

Whilst He was in Perplexity, or rather some passionate Disinclination to the Religion He had been educated in, He had the Missortune to have much Acquaintance with one Mr. Lugar, a Minister of that Church; a Man of a Competency of Learning, in those Points most controverted with the Romanists, but of no acute Parts of Wit, or Judgment; and wrought so far upon him, by weakening, and enervating those Arguments, by which He found He was governed (as He had all the Logick, and all the Rhetorick, that was necessary to persuade very powerfully Men of the greatest Ta-

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lents) that the poor Man, not able to live long in Doubt, too hastily deserted his own Church, and (30) betook himself to the Roman: Nor could all the Arguments, and Reasons of Mr. Chillingworth make him pause in the Expedition He was using; or reduce him from that Church after He had given himself to it; but He had always a great Animofity against him, for having (as He said) unkindly betrayed him, and carried him into another Religion, and there left him. So unfit are fome Constitutions to be troubled with Doubts, after They are once fixed.

HE did really believe all War to be unlawful; and did not think that the Parliament (whose Proceedings He perfectly abhorred) did in Truth intend to involve the Nation in a Civil War, till after the Battle of Edgebill; and then He thought any Expedient, or Stratagem that was like to put a speedy End to it, to be the most commendable: And so having too mathematically conceived an Engine, that should move so lightly, as to be a Breastwork in all Encounters, and Affaults in the Field; He carried it, to make the Experiment, into that Part of his Majesty's Army, which was only in that Winter Season in the Field, under the Command of the Lord Hopton, in Hampsbire, upon the Borders of Suffex; where He was shut up in the Castle of Arundel; which was forced, after a short sharp Siege, to yield for want of Victual; and poor Mr. Chillingworth with it, falling into the Rebels Hands; and being most barbarously treated by them, especially by that Clergy which followed them; and being broken with Sickness, contracted by the ill Accommodation, and Want of Meat and Fire during the Siege, which was in a terrible Season of Frost and Snow, He died shortly after in Prison. He was a Man of excellent Parts, and of a cheerful Disposition; void of all Kind of Vice, and endued with

with many notable Virtues; of a very publick Heart, and an indefatigable Defire to do Good; his only Unhappiness proceeded from his sleeping too little, and thinking too much; which fornetimes threw him into violent Fevers.

THIS was Mr. Hyde's Company, and Converfation, to which He dedicated his vacant Times and all that Time which He could make vacant from the Bufiness of his Profession; which He indulged with no more Paffion than was necessary to keep up the Reputation of a Man, that had no Purpose to be idle; which indeed He perfectly abhorred: -And He took always Occasion to celebrate the Time He had fpent in that Conversation, with great Satisfaction, and Delight. Nor was He less fortunate. in the Acquaintance and Friendships which He made with the Persons in his Profession; who were all eminent Men, or of the most hopeful Parts; who being all much superiour to him in Age, and Experience, and entirely devoted to their Profession. were yet well pleafed with the Gaiety of his Humour, and inoffensive and winning Behaviour; and this good Inclination of theirs was improved by the Interest They saw He had in Persons of the best Quality, to whom He was very acceptable, and his Condition of living, which was with more Expense than young Lawyers were accustomed to.

THOSE Persons were, Mr. Lane, who was then Mr. Hyde's Attorney to the Prince of Wales; and afterwards Priends in his Profession, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer; and lastly upon the Death of the Lord Littleton, was made Keeper of the Great Seal, who died in Banishment with King Charles the Second. Mr. Geoffrey Palmer, afterwards Attorney General. Mr. John Maynard; and Bulftrade Whitlock; all Men of eminent Parts, and great Learning out of their Professions; and in their Professions, of signal Reputation; and though the two last did afterwards bow their Knees

to Baal, and so swerved from their Allegiance, it was with less Rancour and Malice than other Men; (31) They never led, but followed; and were rather carried away with the Torrent, than fwam with the Stream; and failed through those Infirmities, which less than a general Defection, and a prosperous Rebellion could never have discovered. With these, and very few other Persons of other Societies, and of more than ordinary Parts in the Profession, He conversed. In Business, and in Practice, with the rest of the Profession He had at most a formal Acquaintance, and little Familiarity; very feldom using, when his Practice was at highest, so much as to eat in the Hall, without which, no Man ever got the Reputation of a good Student; but He ever gave his Time of eating to his Friends; and was wont pleafantly to fay, "that He repaired "himself with very good Company at Dinner, for "the ill Company He had kept in the Morning;" and made himself Amends for the Time He lost with his Friends, by declining Suppers; and with a Part of that Time which was allowed for Sleep: But He grew every Day more intent on Business. and more engaged in Practice, so that He could not affign fo much Time as He had used to do, to his beloved Conversation.

THE Countenance He received from the Archbishop of Canterbury, who took all Occasion to mention him as a Person He had Kindness for; the Favour of the Lord Coventry, manifested as often as He came before him; the Reception He found with the Lord Privy Seal, the Earl of Manchester, who had raifed the Court of Requests to as much Business as the Chancery itself was possessed of, and where He was looked upon as a Favourite; the Familiarity used towards him by the Lord Pembroke, who was Lord Chamberlain of the King's House, and a greater Man in the Country than the Court; by the Earl of Holland, and many other Lords and Ladies, and other Persons of Interest in the Court, made him looked upon by the Judges in Westminster-Hall, with much Condescension; and They, who before He put on his Gown, looked upon him as one who defigned some other Course of Life, (for though He had been always very punctual in the Performance of all those publick Exercises the Profession obliged him to, both before, and after He was called to the Bar; yet in all other Respects He feemed not to confine himself wholly to that Course of Life) now when They no fooner faw him put on his Gown, but that He was fuddenly in Practice, and taken Notice of particularly in all Courts of Justice with unusual Countenance, thought He would make what Progress He defired in that Profession.

As He had those many Friends in Court, so He was not less acceptable to many great Persons in the Country, who least regarded the Court, and were least esteemed by it; and He had that rare Felicity, that even They, who did not love many of those upon whom He most depended, were yet very well pleased with him, and with his Company. The Earl of Hertford, and the Earl of Effex, whose Interests, and Friendships were then the fame; and who were looked upon with Reverence by all who had not Reverence for the Court, and even by all in the Court, who were not fatisfied there (which was, and always will be a great People) were very kind to him, and ready to trust him in any Thing that was most fecret; and though He could not dispose the Archbishop, or the Earl of Effex to any Correspondence, or good Intelligence with each other; which He exceedingly laboured to do, and found an equal Aversion in Mr. Hyde both towards each other; yet He succeeded to his Archbishop Wish in bringing the Archbishop and the Earl of and the Earl of Hertford.

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Hertford, to a very good Acquaintance and Inclination to each other; which They both often ac-(32) knowledged kindly to him, and with which the

Earl of Effex was as much unfatisfied.

THE Person whose Life this Discourse is to recollect (and who had so great an Affection and Reverence for the Memory of Archbishop Laud, that He never spake of him without extraordinary Esteem, and believed him to be a Man of the most exemplar Virtue, and Piety of any of that Age) was wont to fay, the greatest Want the Archbishop had, was of a true Friend, who would feafonably have told him of his Infirmities, and what People fpake of him; and He said, He knew well that fuch a Friend would have been very acceptable to him; and upon that Occasion He used to mention a Story of Himself; that when He was a young Practifer of the Law, being in some Favour with him (as is mentioned before) He went to visit him, in the Beginning of a Michaelmass Term, shortly after his Return from the Country, where He had fpent a Month or two of the Summer.

His free Expostulation with the Archbifbop.

HE found the Archbishop early walking in the Garden; who received him according to his Custom, very graciously, and continuing his Walk, asked him, "what good News in the Country?" to which He answered, "there was none good; the People "were univerfally discontented; and (which trou-"bled him most) that many People spoke extreme "ill of his Grace, as the Cause of all that was "amis." He replied, "that He was forry for it; "He knew He did not deserve it; and that He " must not give over serving the King, and the "Church, to please the People, who otherwise "would not speak well of him." Mr. Hyde told him, "He thought He need not lessen his Zeal for "either; and that it grieved him to find Persons " of the best Condition, and who loved both King, "and

"and Church, exceedingly indevoted to Him; com-" plaining of his Manner of treating them, when "They had Occasion to resort to him, it may be, " for his Directions." And then named him two Persons of the most Interest and Credit in Wiltsbire. who had that Summer attended the Council Board in some Affairs which concerned the King and the Country; that all the Lords present used them with great Courtely, knowing well their Quality and Reputation; but that He alone spake very sharply to them, and without any Thing of Grace, at which They were much troubled; and one of them, fuppofing that Somebody had done him ill Offices, went the next Morning to Lambeth, to present his Service to him, and to discover, if He could, what Mifrepresentation had been made of him: That after He had attended very long, He was admitted to speak with his Grace, who scarce hearing him, fharply answered him, that "He had no Leisure "for Compliments;" and fo hurried away; which put the other Gentleman much out of Countenance: And that this Kind of Behaviour of his was the Discourse of all Companies of Persons of Quality; every Man continuing any fuch Story with another like it, very much to his Difadvantage; and to the Trouble of those who were very just to him.

HE heard the Relation very patiently, and atten- The Archtively; and discoursed over every Particular with bishop's Reall imaginable Condescension; and said, with evident Shew of Trouble, that "He was very unfor-"tunate to be fo ill understood; that He meant "very well; that He remembered the Time, when "those two Persons were with the Council; that "upon any Deliberations, when any Thing was re-"folved, or to be faid to any Body, the Council "enjoined him to deliver their Refolutions; which "He did always according to the best of his Un-" derstanding;

" derstanding; but by the Imperfection He had by "Nature, which He said often troubled him, He "might deliver it in such a Tune, and with a(33) "Sharpness of Voice, that made Men believe He "was angry, when there was no fuch Thing; that "when those Gentlemen were there, and He had "delivered what He was to fay, They made some "Stay, and spake with some of the Lords, which " not being according to Order, He thought He " gave them some Reprehension; They having at " that Time very much other Business to do: That "He did well remember, that one of them, (who " was a Person of Honour) came afterwards to him, "at a Time He was shut up about an Affair of "Importance, which required his full Thoughts; "but that as foon as He heard of the other's being "without, He fent for him, himself going into the " next Room, and received him very kindly, as He "thought; and supposing that He came about Bu-"finess, asked him what his Business was; and the "other answering, that He had no Business, but "continuing his Address with some Ceremony, He "had indeed faid, that He bad not Time for Com-" pliments; but He did not think that He went "out of the Room in that Manner: And con-"cluded, that it was not possible for him in the " many Occupations He had, to fpend any Time "in unnecessary Compliments; and that if his In-"tegrity and Uprightness, which never should be "liable to Reproach, could not be strong enough "to preserve him, He must submit to God's Plea-" fure."

HE was well contented to hear Mr. Hyde reply very freely upon the Subject, who faid, "He ob-"ferved by what his Grace himself had related, "that the Gentlemen had too much Reason for "the Report They made; and He did not won-"der that They had been much troubled at his " Carriage "Carriage towards them; that He did exceedingly "wish, that He would more reserve his Passion to-"wards all Persons, how faulty soever; and that "He would treat Persons of Honour, and Quality, "and Interest in their Country, with more Cour-"tefy and Condescension; especially when They "came to visit him, and make Offer of their Ser-"vice." He faid, fmiling, that "He could only "undertake for his Heart; that He had very good "Meaning; for his Tongue, He could not under-"take, that He would not fometimes speak more "hastily, and sharply, than He should do, (which "oftentimes He was forry and reprehended him-"felf for) and in a Tune which might be liable to "Misinterpretation, with them who were not very "well acquainted with him, and so knew, that it "was an Infirmity, which his Nature, and Educa-"tion had so rooted in him, that it was in vain to contend with it." For the State and Distance He kept with Men, He faid, "He thought it was "not more than was fuitable to the Place and De+ "gree He held in the Church and State; or fo "much as others had affumed to themselves, who "had fat in his Place; and thereupon He told him "fome Behaviour and Carriage of his Predecessor. " Abbot (who He faid was not better born than "himself) towards the greatest Nobility of the King-"dom, which He thought was very infolent, and "inexcusable;" and was indeed very ridiculous.

AFTER this free Discourse, Mr. Hyde ever found himself more graciously received by him, and treated with more Familiarity; upon which He always concluded, that if the Archbishop had had any true Friend, who would, in proper Seasons, have dealt frankly with him, in the most important Matters, and wherein the Errors were like to be most penal, He would not only have received it very well, but have profited himself by it. But it is the Missor-Vol. I.

tune of most Persons of that Education (how worthy foever) that They have rarely Friendships with Men above their own Condition: and that their Afcent being commonly fudden, from low to high, They have afterwards rather Dependants than (34) Friends; and are still deceived, by keeping somewhat in Reserve to themselves, even from those with whom They feem most openly to communicate; and which is worse, receive for the most Part their Informations and Advertisements from Clergymen, who understand the least, and take the worst Measure of human Affairs of all Mankind that can write and read.

UNDER this universal Acquaintance, and general Acceptation, Mr. Hyde led, for many Years, as cheerful and pleafant a Life, as any Man did enjoy, as long as the Kingdom took any Pleasure in itself. His Practice grew every Day as much as He wished; and would have been much more, if He had wished it; by which, He not only supported his Expense, greater much than Men of his Rank and Pretences used to make, but encreased his Estate by some convenient Purchases of Land, adjoining to his other; and He grew fo much in Love with Bufiness and Practice, that He gave up his whole Heart to it; refolving, by a Course of fevere Study, to recover the Time He had loft upon less profitable Learning, and to intend nothing else but to reap all those Benefits to which that Profession could carry him, and to the pursuing whereof He had fo many and fo unufual Encouragements; and towards which it was not the leaft, that God had bleffed him with an excellent Wife, who perfectly refigned herfelf to him; and who then had brought him, before any Troubles in the Kingdom, three Sons and a Daughter, which He then and ever looked upon as his greatest Bleffing and Confolation.

BECAUSE

34)

BECAUSE we shall have little Cause hereafter to Mr. Hyde's mention any other Particulars, in the calm Part of Reflections on his Life, whilft He followed the Study and Prac- Part of bis tice of the Law, it will not in this Place appear a Life. very impertinent Digression to say, that He was, in that very Time when Fortune seemed to smile and to intend well towards him, and often afterwards throughout the whole Course of his Life. wont to fay, that "when He reflected upon him-" felf, and his past Actions, even from the Time of "his first coming to the Middle Temple, He had "much more Cause to be terrified upon the Re-"flection, than the Man had, who viewed Rochef-"ter Bridge in the Morning that it was broken, "and which He had galloped over in the Night; "that He had passed over more Precipices than the "other had done, for many Nights, and Days, and " fome Years together; from which nothing but "the immediate Hand of God could have pre-"ferved him." For though it is very true, the Persons before mentioned were the only Men, in whose Company, in those Seasons of his Life, He took Delight; yet He frequently found himself in the Conversation of worse, and indeed of all Manner of Men; and it being in the Time when the War was entered into against the two Crowns; and the Expeditions made to, and unprosperous Returns from Cadiz, and the Isle of Ree, the Town was full of Soldiers, and of young Gentlemen who intended to be Soldiers, or as like them as They could; great License used of all Kinds, in Cloaths. in Diet, in Gaming; and all Kind of Expenses equally carried on, by Men who had Fortunes of their own to support it, and by others, who having nothing of their own, cared not what They fpent, whilft They could find Credit; fo that there was never an Age, in which in fo fhort a Time, fo many young Gentlemen, who had not Experience

in the World, or some tutelar Angel to protect them, were infenfibly and fuddenly overwhelmed in that Sea of Wine, and Women, and Quarrels, and Gaming, which almost overspread the whole Kingdom, and the Nobility and Gentry thereof. And when He had, by God's immediate Bleffing, disentangled himself from these Labyrinths (35) (his Nature and Inclination disposing him rather to pass through those dissolute Quarters, than to make any Stay in them) and was enough composed against any extravagant Excursions; He was still converfant with a Rank of Men (how worthy foever) above his Quality; and engaged in an Expense above his Fortune, if the extraordinary Accidents of his Life had not supplied him for those Excesses; so that it brought no Prejudice upon him, except in the Cenfure of fevere Men, who thought him a Person of more License than in Truth He was; and who in a short Time were very fully reconciled to him.

Character.

And bis own HE had without Doubt great Infirmities; which by a providential Mercy were feafonably restrained from growing into Vices, at least into any that were habitual. He had Ambition enough to keep him from being fatisfied with his own Condition, and to raise his Spirit to great Designs of raising himself; but not to transport him to endeavour it by any crooked and indirect Means. He was never fufpected to flatter the greatest Man; or in the least Degree to diffemble his own Opinions or Thoughts, how ingrateful foever it often proved; and even an affected Defect in, and Contempt of those two useful Qualities cost him dear afterwards. He indulged his Palate very much, and took even some Delight in eating and drinking well, but without any Approach to Luxury; and, in Truth, rather discoursed like an Epicure, than was one; having fpent much Time in the eating Hours with the Earl of Dorfet, the Lord Conway, and the Lord Lumley, Men who excelled excelled in gratifying their Appetites. He had a Fancy sharp and luxuriant; but so carefully cultivated, and strictly guarded, that He never was heard to speak a loose or a profane Word; which He imputed to the Chastity of the Persons, where his Conversation usually was; where that rank Sort of Wit was religiously detested; and a little Discountenance would quickly root those unsavoury Weeds out of all Discourses where Persons of Honour are

present.

35)

HE was in his Nature inclined to Pride and Passion; and to a Humour, between Wrangling and Disputing, very troublesome; which good Company in a short Time so much reformed and mastered, that no Man was more affable and courteous to all Kind of Persons; and They who knew the great Infirmity of his whole Family, which abounded in Passion, used to say, He had much extinguished the Unruliness of that Fire. That which supported and rendered him generally acceptable, was his Generofity (for He had too much a Contempt of Money) and the Opinion Men had of the Goodness, and Justice of his Nature which was transcendent in him, in a wonderful Tenderness, and Delight in obliging. His Integrity was ever without Blemish; and believed to be above Temptation. He was firm and unshaken in his Friendships: And though He had great Candour towards others in the Differences of Religion, He was zealoufly and deliberately fixed in the Principles both of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church: Yet He used to say to his nearest Friends, in that Time, when He expected another Kind of Calm for the Remainder of his Life, "though He had fome "glimmering Light of, and Inclination to Virtue "in his Nature, that the whole Progress of his Life "had been full of desperate Hazards; and that "only the merciful Hand of God Almighty had E 3

" prevented his being both an unfortunate and a "vicious Man:" And He still said, that "God had "vouchfafed that fignal Goodness to him, for the "Piety and exemplar Virtue of his Father and "Mother," whose Memory He had always in Veneration; and He was pleafed with what his nearest Ally, and Bosom Friend Serjeant Hyde (who was afterwards Chief Justice of the King's Bench) used (36) at that Time to fay of him, that his Cousin had passed his Time very luckily; and with notable Success; and was like to be very happy in the World; but He would never advise any of his Friends to walk in the fame Paths, or to tread in his Steps.

General State of Europe.

IT was about the Year 1639, when he was little A.D. 1639. more than thirty Years of Age; and when England enjoyed the greatest Measure of Felicity, that it had ever known; the two Crowns of France and Spain worrying each other, by their mutual Incurfions and Invafions; whilft They had both a Civil War in their own Bowels; the former, by frequent Rebellions from their own Factions and Animofities; the latter, by the Defection of Portugal; and both laboured more to ranfack and burn each other's Dominions, than to extinguish their own Fire. All Germany weltering in its own Blood; and contributing to each other's Destruction, that the poor Crown of Sweden might grow great out of their Ruins, and at their Charge: Denmark and Poland being Adventurers in the same destructive Enterprizes. Holland and the United Provinces wearied and tired with their long and chargeable War, how prosperous soever They were in it; and beginning to be more afraid of France, their Ally, than of Spain, their Enemy. Italy, every Year infested by the Arms of Spain and France; which divided the Princes thereof into the feveral Factions.

36)

OF all the Princes of Europe, the King of England alone feemed to be feated upon that pleafant Promontory, that might fafely view the tragick Sufferings of all his Neighbours about him, without any other Concernment, than what arose from his own princely Heart, and Christian Compassion, to fee fuch Desolation wrought by the Pride, and Pasfion, and Ambition of private Persons, supported by Princes, who knew not what themselves would have. His three Kingdoms flourishing in entire Peace, and univerfal Plenty; in Danger of Nothing but their own Surfeits; and his Dominions every Day enlarged, by fending out Colonies upon large and fruitful Plantations; his strong Fleets commanding all Seas; and the numerous Shipping of the Nation bringing the Trade of the World into his Ports; nor could it with unquestionable Security be carried any whither elfe; and all thefe Bleffings enjoyed, under a Prince of the greatest Clemency and Justice, and of the greatest Piety and Devotion, and the most indulgent to his Subjects, and most folicitous for their Happiness and Prosperity.

O fortunati nimium, bona si sua nôrint!

In this bleffed Conjuncture, when no other Prince thought He wanted any Thing, to compass what He most desired to be possessed of, but the Affection and Friendship of the King of England; a small, scarce discernable Cloud arose in the North; which was shortly after attended with such a Storm, that never gave over raging, till it had shaken, and even rooted up the greatest and tallest Cedars of the three Nations; blasted all its Beauty and Fruit-sulness; brought its Strength to Decay, and its Glory to Reproach, and almost to Desolation; by such a Career, and Deluge of Wickedness, and Rebellion, as by not being enough foreseen, or, in Truth, suspected, could not be prevented.

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UPON

Mr. Hyde chosen Member for Wotton-Basset.

Upon the Rebellion in Scotland, in the Year 1640, the King called a Parliament; which met according to Summons upon the 3d of April. Mr. Hyde was chosen to serve for two Places; for the Borough of Wotton-Basset in the County of Wilts; and for the Borough of Shaftesbury, in the County of Dorset; but made Choice to serve for his Neighbours of the former Place; and so a new Writ (37) issued for the Choice of another Burgess for Shaftesbury.

His first Speech in the House of Commons.

THE next Day after Mr. Pym had recapitulated the whole Series of the Grievances, and Miscarriages, which had been in the State; Mr. Hyde told the House, that "that worthy Gentleman had o-" mitted one Grievance, more heavy than (as He "thought) many of the others; which was, the "Earl Marshal's Court; a Court newly erected, "without Colour or Shadow of Law, which took "upon it to fine, and imprison the King's Subjects; " and to give great Damages for Matters which the "Law gave no Damages for." He repeated a pleafant Story of a Citizen, who being rudely treated, for more than his Fare came to, by a Waterman, who pressing him, still shewed his Crest or Badge upon his Coat, the Citizen bad him begone with bis Goofe; whereas it was in Truth, a Swan, the Creft of an Earl, whose Servant the Waterman was; whereupon the Citizen was called into the Marshal's Court, and after a long and chargeable Attendance, was, for the opprobrious dishonouring the Earl's Creft, by calling the Swan a Goofe, fined, and imprisoned, till He had paid confiderable Damages to the Lord, or at least to the Waterman; which really undid the Citizen.

HE told them another Story as ridiculous, of a Gentleman, who owing his Taylor a long Time, a good Sum of Money for Cloaths, and his Taylor coming one Day to his Chamber, with more than

ordinary

ordinary Importunity for his Debt, and not receiving any good Answer, threatened to arrest him; upon which the Gentleman enraged, gave him very ill Words, called him base Fellow, and laid his Hands upon him, to thrust him out of his Chamber; in this Struggle, and under this Provocation, Oppression, and Reproach, the poor Taylor chanced to say, that He was as good a Man as the other; for which Words He was called into the Marshal's Court; and for his Peace, was content to be satisfied his Debt, out of his own ill Manners; being compelled to release all his other Demands in Lieu of Damages. The Case was known by many, and

detested by all.

HE told them, that "there was an Appendant "to that Court, which He called the Pageantry of "it, the Heralds, who were as grievous to the Gen-"try, as the Court was to the People. He faid, "that fure the Knights of that House, when They "received that Honour from the King, though "They might think themselves obliged to live at "a higher Rate, yet They believed, that They " might die as good cheap as other Men; He told "them They could not, it would cost them ten "Pounds more; and yet a Gentleman could not "die for Nothing." The Heralds had procured fuch an Order from the Earl Marshal, to force all Persons to pay at their Funerals such several Sums, according to their feveral Degrees. He concluded with a Defire, that when the Wisdom of that House provided Remedies against the other Grievances, it would likewife fecure the Subject against this Exorbitance. This Representation was very acceptable to the House, both in Respect of the Matter, which was odious enough; and in Regard of the Person that usurped that monstrous Jurisdiction, who was in no Degree grateful to them; upon whom He that made the Motion, had not made

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the least Reflection. The Modesty of that Time not permitting the Mention of great Men, with any Reproach, until their Offences were first examined, and proved; and this being the first Part He had acted upon that Stage, brought him much Applause; and He was ever afterwards heard with great Benignity.

He endeavours
to prevent the
Dissolution of
the Parlia-

UPON the warm Debate in the House of Commont, concerning the giving the King Money, Mr. Hyde observed by the several Discourses of many of (38) the Court, who were of near Admission to the King and Queen, and like to make probable Gueffes, that They believed, the King would be fo much displeased at the Proceedings of the House, that He would dissolve them; which He believed would prove the most fatal Resolution could be taken. As foon as the House was up, He went over to Lambeth, to the Archbishop; whom He found walking in his Garden, having received a full Account of all that had passed, from Persons who had made more Haste from the House. He appeared fad, and full of Thoughts; and calling the other to him, feemed willing to hear what He would fay. He told him, "that He would not trouble him with "the Relation of any Thing that had paffed, of "which He prefumed He had received a good Ac-"count; that his Business was only to inform him "of his own Fears and Apprehensions; and the "Observation He had made upon the Discourses " of some considerable Men of the Court; as if the "King might be wrought upon, because there had "not been that Expedition used as He expected, "fpeedily to dissolve the Parliament. That He "came only to befeech him to use all his Credit, " to prevent fuch a desperate Counsel; which would "produce great Mischief to the King, and to the "Church: That He was confident the House was "as well constituted and disposed, as ever House of " Com"Commons was, or would be: That the Number of the difaffected to Church, or State, was very finall; and though They might obstruct for some Time the quick resolving upon what was fit, They would never be able to pervert their good Incli-

"nations and Defires to ferve the King."

38)

THE Archbishop heard him very patiently, and faid, He believed the King would be very angry at the Way of their Proceedings; for that in this Conjuncture, the delaying, and denying to do what He defired, was the fame Thing; and therefore He believed it probable that He would diffolve them; without which He could not enter upon other Counsels. That for his own Part, He was resolved to deliver no Opinion; but as He would not perfuade the Diffolution, which might be attended by Consequences He could not foresee, so He had not fo good an Opinion of their Affections to the King, or the Church, as to persuade their longer Sitting. if the King were inclined to dissolve them. As He actually did on the 4th or 5th of May, not three Weeks after their first Meeting.

THE Temper and Constitution of both Houses He is again of Parliament, which the King was forced to call ferve in Parshortly after, and met on the 3d of November 1640, liament. was very different from the last: And They discovered not more Prejudice against any Man, than against Mr. Hyde; who was again returned to serve there, and whom They were forry to find amongst. them; as a Man They knew well to have great Affection for the Archbishop; and of unalterable Devotion to the Government of the Church; and therefore They first laboured to find some Defect in his Election; and then to irreconcile those towards him, who They found had any Esteem or Kindness for him: But not finding the Success in either, answerable to their Expectation, They lived fairly towards him; and endeavoured by feveral Applica-

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tions, to gain Credit with him; who returned them their own Civilities; having had very particular Acquaintance with many of them, whom He as much endeavoured to preserve from being prevailed upon, ob rieds covered of elds ad a ven bloom?

He procures
the Suppression
of the Earl
Marshal's Court.

WITHIN few Days after their Meeting, He renewed the Motion He had made in the last Parliament, against the Marshal's Court, (though He(39) knew the Earl Marshal had gotten himself much into their Favour, by his Application, and fome Promises He had made to them at the Meeting at York; and principally by his declared Aversion and Prejudice to the Earl of Strafford) and told them what extravagant Proceedings there had been in that Court, fince the Diffolution of the last Parliament; and that more Damages had been given there, by the fole Judgment of the Lord Marshal, for contumelious and reproachful Words, of which the Law took no Notice, in two Days, than had been given by all the Juries, in all the Courts in Westminster Hall, in the whole Term, and the Days for Trial after it was ended. Upon which He got a Committee to be named, of which himself fat in the Chair; and found that the first Precedent They had in all their Records, for that Form of Proceeding, which They had used, and for giving of Damages for Words, was but in the Year 1623; and the very Entrance upon this Inquifition put an End to that upftart Court, which never prefumed to fit afterwards; and fo that Grievance was thoroughly abolished. And to manifest how great an Impression the Alarums of this Kind made upon the highest and the proudest Natures, the very next Sunday after this Motion was made in the House of Commons, the Earl Marshal, seeing Mr. Hyde in the Closet at Whitehall, during the Time of the Sermon, He came with great Courtefy to him, thanked him for having treated his Person so civilly, when

when upon so just Reason He had found Fault with fome of his Actions; faid, He believed He had been in the Wrong; but that He had been missed by the Advice of Sir Harry Martin, and other Civilians, who were held Men of great Learning, and who affured him, that those Proceedings were just and lawful. He faid, They had gained well by it, but should mislead him no more: And concluded with great Professions of Kindness, and Esteem; and offered him all Offices in his Power; when in his Heart, He did him the Honour to detest and hate him perfectly; as He professed to all whom He trusted. o dispers I had

His Credit grew every Day in the House, in Spite of all the Endeavours, which were used to lessen it. And it being evident, that He had no Dependance upon the Court, and infifted wholly upon maintaining what the Law had established. very many wife Men, and of Estate, and Reputation in the Kingdom (who observed well the crooked, and ambitious Defigns of those, who defired to be thought to care only for the good of their Country) adhered to him; and were willing to take Adyice from him, how to prevent those Miseries, which were like to be brought upon the Kingdom: So that They who had cut out all the Work from the Beginning, and feldom met with any notable Contradiction, found themselves now frequently disappointed; and different Resolutions taken, to what They had proposed; which They imputed to his Activity.

HE was very much in the Business of the House: The greatest Chairman in the Committees of the greatest Moment; and very diligent in attending the Service both in the House, and at Committees: For He had from the Beginning of the Parliament He lays afide laid afide his Gown and Practice, and wholly given his Gown, and himself up to the publick Business; which He saw with subolly to pub-

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fo much concerned the Peace, and very Being of the Kingdom. He was in the Chair of that Committee which confidered of the Illegality of the Court of York: And the other, that examined the Miscarriage of the Judges, in the Case of Ship-Money, and in other Cases of Judicatory, in their feveral Courts; and prepared Charges thereupon against them. He was in the Chair against the Marshal's Court: In that Committee which was against the Court of York; which was profecuted (40) with great Passion, and took up many Weeks Debate: In that which concerned the Jurisdiction of the Lord President, and Council, of the Marches of Wales; which likewife held a long Time, and was profecuted with great Bitterness and Animofity; in which the Inhabitants of the four neighbour Counties of Salop, Worcester, Hereford, and Glocester, and consequently the Knights, and Burgesses which served for the same, were passionately concerned to absolve themselves from the Burthen of that Jurisdiction; and all the Officers of that Court, and Council, whereof fome were very great Men, and held Offices of great Value, laboured with equal Passion and Concernment to support, and maintain what was in Practice, and Possession; and their Friends appeared accordingly.

HE was in the Chair in many Committees made upon private Complaints: Infomuch as He was feldom in the Afternoon free from that Service in the Committees; as He was never absent in Mornings from the House: And He was often heard to mention one private Committee, in which He was put accidentally into the Chair, upon an Inclosure which had been made of some great Wastes, belonging to some of the Queen's Manors, without the Consent of the Tenants, the Benefit whereof had been given by the Queen to a Servant of near Truft; who forthwith fold the Lands inclosed to

the Earl of Manchester, Lord Privy Seal; who together with his Son Mandevil, were now most concerned to maintain the Inclosure; against which. as well the Inhabitants of other Manors, who claimed Common in those Wastes, as the Queen's Tenants of the same, made loud Complaints, as a great Oppression, carried upon them with a very high

Hand, and supported by Power.

THE Committee fat in the Queen's Court; and The first Oliver Cromwell being one of them, appeared much Cause of Oliver Cromconcerned to countenance the Petitioners, who were well's Enninumerous, together with their Witnesses; the Lord ty to bim. Mandevil being likewife prefent as a Party, and by the Direction of the Committee, fitting covered: Cromwell (who had never before been heard to speak in the House of Commons) ordered the Witnesses and Petitioners in the Method of the Proceeding: and feconded, and enlarged upon what They faid with great Passion; and the Witnesses and Persons concerned, who were a very rude Kind of People, interrupted the Council and Witnesses on the other Side, with great Clamour, when They faid any Thing that did not please them; so that Mr. Hyde (whose Office it was to oblige Men of all Sorts to keep Order) was compelled to use some sharp Reproofs, and fome Threats, to reduce them to fuch a Temper, that the Bufiness might be quietly heard. Cromwell in great Fury reproached the Chairman for being partial, and that He discountenanced the Witnesses by threatening them; the Other appealed to the Committee, which justified him, and declared, that He behaved himself as He ought to do; which more enflamed him, who was already too much angry. When upon any Mention of Matter of Fact, or the Proceeding before, and at the Inclosure, the Lord Mandevil defired to be heard, and with great Modesty related what had been done, or explained what had been faid, Mr. Cromwell did answer.

answer, and reply upon him, with so much Indecency and Rudeness, and in Language so contrary and offensive, that every Man would have thought, that as their Natures and their Manners were as opposite as it is possible, so their Interest could never have been the fame. In the End, his whole Carriage was fo tempestuous, and his Behaviour so insolent, that the Chairman found himself obliged to reprehend him; and to tell him, if He proceeded in the fame Manner, He would prefently (41) adjourn the Committee; and the next Morning complain to the House of him; which He never forgave; and took all Occasions afterwards to pursue him with the utmost Malice and Revenge, to his Death.

WHEN Mr. Hyde fat in the Chair, in the grand Committee of the House, for the Extirpation of Episcopacy, all that Party made great Court to him; and the House keeping those disorderly Hours, and feldom rifing till after four of the Clock in the Afternoon, They frequently importuned him to dine with them, at Mr. Pym's Lodging, which was at Sir Richard Manly's House, in a little Court behind Westminster Hall; where He, and Mr. Hambden, Sir Arthur Hasterig, and two or three more, upon a Stock kept a Table, where They transacted much Business; and invited thither those,

of whose Conversion They had any Hope.

ONE Day after Dinner, Nathaniel Fiennes, who that Day likewise dined there, asked Mr. Hyde, whether He would ride into the Fields, and take a little Air, it being a fine Evening; which the other consenting to, They sent for their Horses, and riding together in the Fields, between West-His Conversa- minster and Chelsea, Mr. Fiennes asked him, what it was that inclined him to adhere fo passionately to the Church, which could not possibly be supported. He answered, that He could have no other Obligation than that of his own Conscience and his Reason.

tion with Nat. Fiennes.

Part I. EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON.

Reason, that could move with him; for He had no Relation or Dependance upon any Churchmen that could dispose him to it; that He could not conceive how Religion could be preserved without Bishops: nor how the Government of the State could well fubfift, if the Government of the Church were altered; and asked him what Government They meant to introduce in its Place: To which He answered, that there would be Time enough to think of that; but affured him, and wished him to remember what He faid, that if the King refolved to defend the Bishops, it would cost the Kingdom much Blood; and would be the Occasion of as sharp a War, as had ever been in England: For that there was a great Number of good Men, who refolved to lose their Lives, before They would ever submit to that Government. Which was the first positive Declaration He had ever heard from any particular Man of that Party; very few of them having at that Time that Resolution, much less avowing it; and if They had, the Kingdom was in no Degree at that Time infected with that Poison, how much foever it was spread afterwards.

WITHIN two Days after this Discourse from Mr. Fiennes, Mr. Hyde, walking between the Parliament House and Westminster, in the Church-Yard met with Harry Martin, with whom He lived very fa- And with miliarly; and speaking together about the Proceed-tin, ings of the Houses, Martin told him, that He would undo himself by his adhering to the Court; to which He replied, that He had no Relation to the Court, and was only concerned to maintain the Government, and preserve the Law: And then told him He could not conceive what He proposed to himfelf, for He did not think him to be of the Opinion, or Nature with those Men, who governed the House; and asked him what He thought of such and fuch Men; and He very frankly answered, that Vol. I. He

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Who oruns bimself a Republican.

He thought them Knaves; and that when They had done as much as They intended to do, They should be used as They had used others. The other pressed him then to say what He desired; to which, after a little Pause, He very roundly answered, I do not think one Mon wife enough to govern us all: Which was the first Word He had ever heard any Man speak to that Purpose; and would without Doubt, if it had been then communicated or at-(42) tempted, been the most abhorred by the whole Nation, of any Design that could be mentioned; and yet it appears it had even so early entered into the Hearts of some desperate Persons: That Gentleman being at that Time possessed of a very great Fortune, and having great Credit in his Country.

WHILST Things were thus depending, one Morning, when there was a Conference with the Lords, and so the House adjourned, Mr. Hyde being walking in the House, Mr. Peircy, Brother to the Earl

fent for by the King.

Mr. Hyde is of Northumberland, being a Member of the House, came to him, and told him, that the King would fpeak with him, and would have him that Afternoon to come to him. He answered. He believed it was some Mistake, for that He had not the Honour to he known to the King; and that there was another of the same Name, of the House. Mr. Peircy affured him, He was the Man; and fo it was agreed, that at fuch an Hour in the Evening, He would call on him at his Chamber; which He did, and was by him conducted into the Gallery, and so into the square Room; where He staid till the other went to the King; who in a very short Time came thither, attended only by Mr. Peircy, who, as foon as Mr. Hyde had kiffed his Majesty's Hand, withdrew.

The King's Discourse with bim,

THE King told him, "that He heard from all "Hands, how much He was beholden to him; and " that when all his Servants in the House of Com-

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"mons either neglected his Service, or could not "appear usefully in it, He took all Occasions to do "him Service; for which He thought fit to give "him his own Thanks, and to affure him that He "would remember it to his Advantage." He took Notice of his Affection to the Church, for which, He said, "He thanked him more than for all the "rest;" which the other acknowledged with the Duty that became him; and faid, "He was very "happy, that his Majesty was pleased with what "He did; but if He had commanded him to have "withdrawn his Affection and Reverence for the "Church, He would not have obeyed him;" which his Majesty said, made him love him the better, Then He discoursed of the Passion of the House and of the Bill then brought in against Episcopacy; and asked him, "whether He thought They would " be able to carry it;" to which He answered; "He believed They could not, at least; that it "would be very long first." "Nay (replied the "King) if you'll look to it, that They do not car-" ry it before I go for Scotland, which will be at " fuch a Time, when the Armies shall be disbanded. "I will undertake for the Church after that Time "why then (faid the other) by the Grace of God, it "will not be in much Danger:" With which the King was well pleased; and dismissed him with very gracious Expressions. And this was the first Introduction of him to the King's taking Notice of him:

AFTERWARDS in that Summer, during the Time of his Majesty's Stay in Scotland, Mr. Secretary Nicholas (who then kept the Signet, though He was not sworn Secretary till the King's Return) being very sick, sent to him, to desire to speak with him; whereupon He went to him to his House in King's-Street; and sound him in his Bed: And the Business was wholly to shew him a Letter from the King to him, in which He writ to him, that He under-

stood by several Hands, that He was very much beholden to Mr. Hyde for the great Zeal He shewed to his Service; and therefore commanded him to speak with him, and to let him know the Sense He had of it; and that when He returned, He would let him know it himself.

HAVING now taken a View of him from his (43) Birth, and through his whole Youth, and first Entrance into the Business of the World, in which He had great Success and Prosperity, (and if the Calm, in which He was born, and lasted so long, had continued, no Man could with more Probability have promised himself better Fortune in the Profession to which He had dedicated himself) and having now brought him to be known to the King; and the Tempest, that from the present foul Weather shortly after broke out, driving him from farther applying himself to, or profecuting that Profession; and the Parliament making some short Recefs, during the King's being in Scotland; we will here conclude the first Part of his Life, and enter upon the fecond, which will contain a more important Part; and in which We will mention no Particulars of that active Time, but such in which He had a fignal Part; leaving the rest to the History of those great and monstrous Actions.

Montpelier. 27th of March, 1669.

The LIFE of

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON

From his Birth to the Restoration of the ROYAL FAMILY in the Year 1660.

PART the SECOND.

HEN the Remonstrance of the State of the Nation, and its particular Grievances, was (by Order of the House of Commons) printed; Mr. Hyde, only to give Vent to his Mr. Hyde own Indignation, and without the least Purpose of draws up an Answer to the communicating it, or that any Use should be made Parliament's of it, had drawn fuch a full Answer to it, as the Remonstrance, Subject would have enabled any Man to have done. who had thought of it: And the Lord Digby, who had much Conversation and Friendship with him. coming accidentally and fuddenly into the Room, where He was alone amongst his Books and Papers; conferring together of the extravagant Proceedings of the Parliament, He, upon the Familiarity that was between them, and upon the Argument that was then between them, read the Anfwer to him which He had prepared to the Remonstrance; with which He seemed much pleased, and defired him that He would permit it to be made: Use of by the King, and that He might shew it to his Majesty; who found it absolutely necessary to F 3 publish

publish some Answer in his own Name to that Remonstrance, which had so much poisoned the Hearts of the People; and that his Majesty was endeavouring to procure fuch an Answer to be drawn. The other expressly and positively refused to give it him, or that any Use should be made of it; and reproached him for proposing a Thing to him, which might prove ruinous to him, if the House should have the least Imagination that He exercised himself in such Offices: With which Answer He seemed satisfied, and departed: No other Person having seen it but the Lord Falkland, from whom Nothing was ever concealed.

WITHIN few Days after, the Lord Digby, with whom the King advised in the Business of the Parliament without Referve, came again to him; and after some Apologies, told him freely, that very many had been with the King, defiring him that He would take Care that some Answer might be published to that Remonstrance; which had already done much Harm, and would do much more if it were not answered; and that the King had spoken to him; upon which He had confessed that He had seen an Answer, that pleased him very well; (45) but could not prevail with the Author of it to fuffer it to be made Use of; and told him who it was: Whereupon the King feemed to wonder very much, that a Person who had appeared so publickly in Defence of his Service, should be so wary of affifting him in private: And after many Expressions of Grace towards that Gentleman, his Majesty had commanded him to come in his Name to him; and to conjure him to fend that Paper to him; and to give him his Royal Word, that no Person living should know that He had the least Hand in it; so that no Danger should accrue to him thereby. MR.

Part II. EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON.

MR. HYDE, though He was very unfatisfied with what the Lord Digby had done (whose Affection to him He did not in any Degree make Queftion of, but did not like his over Activity, to which his reftless Fancy always disposed him; and as He doubted not, that himself had given the Occasion to the King to fend those Commands, so He had likewise enlarged those Commands, as He believed, in fuch a Manner as He thought might most oblige him) yet upon the real Consideration that it might do the King much Service, He did without Delay deliver the Papers: Infifting upon the Promife of Secrecy, and likewife, that his Majesty would not publish, without first communicating it to his Council, and as done with their Advice. And to that Purpose He affixed that Title to it. before He delivered the Papers out of his Hands; believing that as it would be more for the King's Service to carry such an Authority in the Front of it, as The King's Answer with the Advice of his Council; so it could not be refused by them, and yet might engage them in some Displeasure with the House of Commons, which probably might be offended at it. The King was very punctual in doing what was defired; and caused it to be read at a full Council; where many of the Lords commended it very much, and none spake against it; and so it was published and printed: And it was very apparent to all Men, that the King's Service was very Which by the much advanced by it: And it was not more evident King's Comto any, than to the House of Commons; who knew id. not how to make any Expostulation upon it, it being in the King's own Name, and published with the Advice of his Privy Council; fo that all They could do, was to endeavour to discover who was the Penner of it; to which Discovery They were most intent by all their fecret Friends in Court; who

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found Means to discover most other Secrets to them, but in this could do them no Service.

As foon as the Lord Falkland and Sir John Cole-

pepper were called to the Privy Council, the King fent for Mr. Hyde to him, who had not feen his Majesty from the Time He had been presented by Mr. Peircy. He commanded the Lord Digby to bring him when it was Night to the Queen's back Stairs; and as foon as He was there, both King and Queen came into the Room; and when He had kiffed their Hands, and the Lord Digby was withdrawn, the King told him "He was much beholden to him for " many good Services; and that now He had pre-"ferred two of his Friends, it was Time to give "Him some Testimony of his Favour; and there-"fore He had fent to him to tell him, that He in-"tended to make him his Solicitor-General, in the "Place of him who had ferved him fo ill." Mr. Hyde, fuddenly answered, "God forbid!" With which the King feeming furprifed, faid "why God "forbid?" The other replied, "it was in no Deeitor-General. " gree fit at this Time that He should remove the "other; and if He were removed, himself was in "no Degree fit for it." The Queen faid, "He "ought not to fuffer for his Modesty: She had "heard Men, who could judge well, fay, that He "was as fit for it as the other". Mr. Hyde faid "that was an Argument that Gentleman thought (46) "the other not fit for it, not that He believed him "fit; which in Truth He faid He was not. That "it might be, that when the Place was actually "void, the King might have filled it better with "another Man, than with Mr. St. John; whose Parts "were not above many others; and his Affections "were below most Mens: But now that He was "invested in that Office, it was not a good Con-"juncture to remove him; and when it should be, "He did humbly advise his Majesty to make Choice

Mr. Hyde declines the Office of Soli-

Part II. EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON.

" of the ablest Man of the Profession, whose Affec-"tions were clear; by whom He might indeed "have great Benefit; whereas himself was young, "and without any of that Learning or Experience, "which might make him capable of that great "Trust." The Queen saying again this was his Modesty, He replied, "Madam when you know " me better, you will not find me fo modest a Man, "but that I hope by your Majesty's Favour in due "Time to be made a better Man, than I am at " present; but if you believe that I know any Thing "of the Disposition of the present Time, or of "what may conduce to the King's Service, I pray "believe, that though the Solicitor will never do "much Service, He will be able to do much more "Mischief if He be removed." The King at the fame Time resolved to remove another Officer, who did differve him notoriously, and to prefer Mr. Hyde to that Place; with which their gracious Intention both their Majesties acquainted him; but He pofitively refused it; and affured both their Majesties, that He should be able to do much more Service in the Condition He was in.

BEFORE the King left Whitehall He renewed his He is entrust-Commands to the three Persons mentioned before, ed with the the Lord Viscount Falkland, Sir John Colepepper, and King's Af-Mr. Hyde, to meet constantly together, and consult liament. upon his Affairs; and conduct them the best Way They could in the Parliament; and to give him constant Advice what He was to do; without which He declared again very folemnly He would make no Step in the Parliament. Two of them were obliged by their Offices and Relations, and the other by his Duty and Inclination, to give him all Satiffaction; notwithstanding the Discouragement They had fo lately received, in the King's going to the House to demand the five Members, without ever communicating his Intention to them; and which

had made a deep Impression upon them. And so They met every Night late together; and communicated their Observation and Intelligence of the Day; and fo agreed what was to be done, or attempted the next; there being very many Persons of Condition and Interest in the House, who would follow their Advice, and affift in any Thing They defired. And because Mr. Hyde had larger Accommodation in the House where He lived in Westminfter, than either of the other had, the Meetings at Night were for the most Part with him; and after their Deliberation together, what was to be put in Writing was always committed to Mr. Hyde; and when the King had left the Town, He writ as freely to the King as either of the other did; and fometimes when They would be excused, He went to

him in great Secret.

HE had been from the Beginning very unbeloved by all the governing Party; and though They took some Pains at first to win him, yet their Hope of that was quickly desperate; and from the Night of the Protestation, He was as much in their Detestation as any Man; and the more, that They could take no Advantage against him: And though They had a better Opinion of his Discretion, than to believe He had any Share in the Advice of the late Proceedings, yet They were very willing that others should believe it; and made all the Infusions They could to that Purpose amongst those, who took their (47) Opinions from them; towards which his known Friendship with the Lord Digby was an Argument very prevalent; and then his opposing the Votes upon their Privilege had inflamed them beyond their Temper; infomuch as Mr. Hambden told him one Day, that the Trouble that had lately befallen them had been attended with that Benefit, that They knew who were their Friends: And the other offering to speak upon the Point of Privilege, and how

how monstrous a Thing it was to make a Vote so contrary to the known Law; He replied very fnappishly, "that He well knew He had a Mind They "should be all in Prison," and so departed without staying for an Answer. Then They imputed to him the disposing the Lord Falkland to serve the Court, and the Court to receive his Service; and from the Time that He and Colepepper were called to the Council, They equally were enraged against both: And now, when They had discovered the Place of the nightly Meetings, that a Secretary of State and a Chancellor of the Exchequer every Day went to the Lodging of a private Person, who ought to attend them, They believed it a Condescension that had some other Foundation than mere Civility; yet They could not discover any Thing against them, which They thought fit to offer in Publick.

IT is not amiss in this Place to say somewhat of those three Persons, who had from that Time so great a Part in the Business that was upon the Stage; and did in a short Time raise the Reputation of the King, and of his Caufe, to a very great Degree; and who, though They were well united in the Opposition of all the ill Designs against the Crown, and concurred in the publick Service with necessary and mutual Civilities towards each other; yet their Principles, and Constitutions were very different; and the Lord Falkland and Mr. Hyde (between whom, as is faid before, the Friendship was most entire) had never had the least Acquaintance with Sir John Colepeppen, before the Parliament; and finding themselves often of one Opinion, grew into some Conversation; and being after united in the King's Trust, They rarely conferred but in the Agitation of Business; their Natures being in nothing like.

THE Lord Falkland, though He was a Man of a of the Temper cheerful Conversation, was of a severe Nature, and and Princi-

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a Lover of Virtue; yet He had great Esteem for all Men of great Parts, though They applied them to ill Purposes. He was so great an Enemy to all Diffimulation, that He chose sometimes the other Extreme, when it was not requifite. He had not the Court in great Reverence; and had a presaging Spirit that the King would fall into great Misfortune: And often faid to his Friend, that He chose to ferve the King, because Honesty obliged him to it; but that He forefaw his own Ruin by doing it. He had a better Opinion of the Church of England, and the Religion of it, than of any other Church and Religion; and had extraordinary Kindness for very many Churchmen; and if He could have helped or prevented it, there should have been no Attempts against it. But He had in his own Judgment fuch a Latitude in Opinion, that He did not believe any Part of the Order, or Government of it, to be so essentially necessary to Religion, but that it might be parted with, and altered, for a notable publick Benefit or Convenience: And that the Crown itself ought to gratify the People, in yielding to many Things; and to part with some Power, rather than to run the Hazards, which would attend the Refusal. But He was swayed in this by a Belief, that the King would in the End be prevailed with to yield to what was pressed; and this Opinion wrought too much upon too many.

ALBEIT He had the greatest Compliance with (48) the Weakness, and even the Humour of other Men, when there could be no Suspicion of Flattery; and the greatest Address to inform, and reform them; yet towards the King, who many Times obstinately adhered to many Conclusions which did not naturally refult from good Premises, and did love to argue many Things to which He would not fo pofitively adhere, He did not practife that Condescension; but contradicted him with more Bluntness,

and by sharp Sentences; and in some Particulars, (as of the Church) to which the King was in Conscience most devoted: And of this his Majesty often complained; and cared less to confer with him in private, and was less perfuaded by him, than his Affairs, and the other's great Parts and Wisdom would have required: Though He had not a better Opinion of any Man's Sincerity, or Fidelity towards him.

SIR John Colepepper had spent some Years of his of Sir John Youth in foreign Parts, and especially in Armies: Colepepper. where He had feen good Service, and very well obferved it; and might have made a very good Officer, if He had intended it. He was of a rough Nature; a hot Head; and of great Courage; which had engaged him in many Quarrels, and Duels; wherein He still behaved himself very signally. He had in a very good Season, and after a small Waste of his Fortune, retired from that Course of Life, and married, and betook himself to a Country Life; and studied the Business of the Country, and the Concernments of it, in which He was very well versed; and being a Man of Sharpness of Parts, and Volubility of Language, He was frequently made Choice of to appear at the Council-Board, in those Matters which related to the Country: In the managing whereof, his Abilities were well taken Notice of. His Estate was very moderate, and his usual Expense exceeded it not; not being delighted with Delicacies of any Nature, or indeed ever acquainted with them. He had Infirmities, which fometimes made a noise; but his Parts, and Abilities made him very acceptable to his Neighbours, and to those who were most considerable in their Estates, and most popular; so that with very little Opposition, He had been chosen to be Knight of that great County Kent for the Parliament; where He quickly made himself to be taken Notice of. He

He was proud, and ambitious, and very much difposed to improve his Fortune: Which He knew well how to do, by Industry, and Thrift, without stooping to any corrupt Ways, to which He was not inclined.

HE did not love the Persons of many of those who were the violent Managers; and less their Defigns: And therefore He no fooner knew that He was well spoken of at Court, but He exposed himfelf to the Invitation, and heartily embraced that Interest: And when He came thither, He might very well be thought a Man of no very good Breeding; having never facrificed to the Muses, or conversed in any polite Company. He was warm, and positive in Debates, and of present Fancy to object, and find Fault with what was proposed; and indeed would take any Argument in Pieces, and expose it excellently to a full View; and leave Nothing to Chance, or Accident, without making it foreseen; but after that, knew not so well what to judge, and determine; and was fo irrefolute, and had a Fancy fo perpetually working, that after a Conclusion made, He would the next Day, in the Execution of it, and sometimes after, raise new Doubts, and make new Objections; which always occasioned Trouble; and sometimes produced Inconvenience.

In Matters of Religion, He was in his Judgment very indifferent; but more inclined to what was established, to avoid the Accidents which commonly attend a Change, without any Motives (49) from his Conscience; which yet He kept to himfelf; and was well content to have it believed that the Activity proceeded from thence. He had, with all this Uncourtliness (for fure no Man less appeared a Courtier) and Ungracefulness in his Mein and Motion, a wonderful Infinuation and Address into the Acceptation, and Confidence of the King and Queen; and Flattery being a Weed not so matural

wholly lived, He was believed to speak with all Plainness and Sincerity; when no Man more complied with those Infirmities they both had; and by

that Compliance prevailed often over them.

HE had a very tragical Way in expressing himfelf, to raife the Fears and Apprehensions of those, who were naturally apprehensive of Dangers: And by this Means He prevailed marvelloufly with the Queen, in those Matters to which She was most averse; by representing Things as dismally to her as He could well do: And on the other Hand, to the King (who was naturally very Sanguine) He was full of Compliance; cherished all his Hopes and Imaginations; and raifed and improved those Hopes very frequently by Expedients very unagreeable to the End proposed. He was then (as was said before) very positive in his Conclusions: As if He did not propose a Thing that might come to pass, but what infallibly must be so; which was a Temper the King could not contend with; and did fo much fuspect himself (which was his greatest Infirmity, and the chief Ground of all his Sufferings) that He did believe a Man, of whom He thought very well. did know every Thing that He confidently infifted upon. But his greatest Advantage was (besides his Diligence in Speaking as often as He could with the King and Queen, and always with the Queen, upon any important Counsel) that He had an entire Confidence and Friendship with Mr. John Albburnbam, whom the King loved, and trufted very much; and who always imprinted that Advice in the King's Mind, which the other had infused; and being a Member of the House, was always ready to report the Service He did his Majesty there, as advantageously as the Business would bear.

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Mr. Hyde was in his Nature and Disposition, dif- of Mr. Hyde. ferent from both the other; which never begot the

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least Disagreement between the Lord Falkland and him. He was of a very cheerful and open Nature, without any Diffimulation; and delivered his Opinion of Things or Persons, where it was convenient, without Referve or Difguise; and was at least tenacious enough of his Opinion, and never departed from it out of Compliance with any Man. He had a very particular Devotion and Passion for the Perfon of the King; and did believe him the most, and the best Christian in the World. He had a most zealous Esteem and Reverence for the Constitution of the Government; and believed it so equally poifed, that if the least Branch of the Prerogative was torn off, or parted with, the Subject suffered by it, and that his Right was impaired: And He was as much troubled when the Crown exceeded its just Limits, and thought its Prerogative hurt by it: And therefore not only never confented to any Diminution of the King's Authority, but always wished that the King would not confent to it, with what Importunity or Impetuofity foever it was defired and pressed.

HE had taken more Pains than fuch Men use to do, in the Examination of Religion; having always conversed with those of different Opinions with all Freedom, and Affection; and had very much Kindness and Esteem for many, who were in no Degree of his own Judgment; and upon all this, He did (50) really believe the Church of England the most exactly formed and framed for the Encouragement and Advancement of Learning and Piety, and for the Preservation of Peace, of any Church in the World; that the taking away any of its Revenue, and applying it to fecular Uses, was Robbery, and notorious Sacrilege; and that the diminishing the Lustre it had, and had always had in the Government, by removing the Bishops out of the House of Peers, was a Violation of Justice; the removing

Land-mark; and the shaking the very Foundation of Government: And therefore He always opposed, upon the Impulsion of Conscience, all Mutations in the Church; and did always believe, let the Season or the Circumstance be what it would, that any Compliance was pernicious; and that a peremptory and obstinate Refusal, that might put Men in Despair of what They laboured for, and take away all Hope of obtaining what They desired, would reconcile more Persons to the Government, than the gratifying them in Part; which only whetted their Appetite to desire more, and their Considerations.

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Though He was of a Complexion and Humour very far from Despair, yet He did believe the King would be oppressed by that Party which then governed, and that They who followed and ferved him would be destroyed; so that it was not Ambition of Power or Wealth that engaged him to embark in fo very hazardous an Imployment, but abstractly the Consideration of his Duty; and He often used to apply those Words of Cicero to himfelf, Mea Ætas incidit in id Bellum, cujus altera Pars Sceleris nimium babuit, altera Felicitatis parum. very probable, that if his Access at that Time had been as frequent to the King, as Sir John Colepepper's was, or the Lord Falkland's might have been, fome Things might have been left undone, the doing whereof brought much Prejudice to the King; for all His Principles were much more agreeable to his Majesty's own Judgment, than those of either of the other; and what He faid was of equal Authority with him; and when any Advice was given by either of the other; the King usually asked, "whether Ned Hyde were of that Opinion;" and They always very ingenuously confessed that He was not: But his having no Relation of Service, and so no Pretence to be seen often at Court; and Vol. I.

the great Jealousy that was entertained towards him, made it necessary to him to repair only in the Dark to the King upon emergent Occasions, and leave the rest to be imparted by the other two; and the Differences in their Natures and Opinions never produced any Disunion between them in those Councils, which concerned the Conduct of the King's Service; but They proceeded with great Unanimity, and very manifestly much advanced the King's Business from the very low State it was in, when They were first trusted; the other two having always much Deference to the Lord Falkland, who allayed their Passions; to which They were both

enough inclined.

WHEN the two Bills were fent to the King, for the granting the Militia, and the removing the Bishops out of the House of Peers, most Men did believe that the King would never give his Affent to either of these two; though very many had concurred in them for no other Reason than because They were affured He would not refuse, and others upon Confidence that He would; and therefore would not render themselves obnoxious by opposing them: Upon all which the Queen continued her Refolution; and hastened her Journey that She might be out of the Way, and thereby the King might the more resolutely reject those Bills, which He intended to do; and the Houses the more importunately pressed the Dispatch of the Bills, as soon as the (51) Day was appointed for the Queen's beginning her Journey from Windsor towards Dover.

In this Perplexity, when Nothing was so necesfary as the most obstinate Resolution, Sir John Colepepper, who was naturally inclined to Expedients, and, in difficult Cases, that is, Cases made difficult by the Perverseness of supercilious Contenders, to Composition, much desired, that the King would pass that against the Bishops, and absolutely reject the other; which He did in Truth believe would fatisfy fo many, that those that remained unsatisfied. would not have Credit enough to give any further Disturbance; and in his own Judgment, as hath been faid before, He thought the Matter of little Importance; but He knew that Argument would make no other Impression upon the King, than to the Difadvantage of the Arguer; and if He had thought himself obliged to have enacted one, He would have chosen to have passed that for the Militia, rather than the other; He urged therefore to the sir John King, no other Person present, the Necessity of giv
Colepepper
ing the Parliament Satisfaction in one of those Bills; King to pass
and that there were more who would be fatisfied the Bill against the with that concerning the Bishops, than with the Bishops. other concerning the Militia; and therefore it would be best to gratify the major Part. Then He expofed the dreadful Consequences which would attend the yielding in the Point of the Militia, as if it would be the next Day in their Power to depose him; and all the tragical Effects of granting that Authority. He seemed in no Degree to undervalue the Mischief of consenting to the Bill against the Bishops; yet that it would be attended with that present Benefit, that the Church would be free from farther Apprehension; and that this Degradation would secure the Function, and the Revenue; and that when these Jealousies and Misunderstandings should be once composed, that Bill would be easily repealed, by the Experience how much the Government was hurt by it; and whilft the Sword remained in the King's own Hands, there would be no Attempt to make farther Alterations, The King asked him, whether Ned Hyde was of that Mind; to which He answered, He was not, nor did wish that either of the Bills should be passed, which He thought, as the Time was, could not be a reasonable Judgment; the G 2

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the King said, it was his; and that He would run the Hazard.

WHEN He found He could not prevail there, He went to the Queen; and repeated all the Arguments He had used to the King, with his usual Vehemence; and added, that He exceedingly apprehended that by fome Means or other, upon this Refufal of the King's, her Majesty's Journey would be stopped; and that She would not be suffered to transport herself out of the Kingdom; and therefore He heartily wished that She would so use her Credit with the King, that He might pass that Act concerning the Bishops, which He said would lay fuch an Obligation upon both Houses, as would redound to her Majesty's Advantage. The Queen was fo terrified with the Apprehension of her being hindered from pursuing her Purpose, that She gave not over her Importunity with the King, till She had prevailed with him; and fo that Bill for removing the Bishops out of the House of Peers was passed by Commission; when both their Majesties were upon their Way, and in their Journey to Dover.

Who is prevailed on by the Queen to do so.

Nothing that is here faid must restect upon the Memory of Sir John Colepepper, as if He were corrupted in his Assections to the Church; or gave this Advice to gratify and please other Men, or for any particular Advantage to himself, of all which He was very innocent. It is said before, that in his Judgment He looked upon the Thing as what might be conscientiously consented to; and then his real (52) Apprehension of Danger, and Mischief to the King (to whom He bore all possible Fidelity) by resusing it, so far wrought upon his warm Constitution, that He did really believe it to be his Duty to be solicitous to the vehement Degree He was. But He quickly found He had been deceived, at least in

the Imagination, that the confenting to that one Bill would at all allay their Passion. They were on the contrary fo far from being pleased with it, that They immediately betook themselves to enquire, " who the evil Counsellors were, who diffuaded his " Majesty from consenting to the other concerning "the Militia;" which was so necessary to all their Purposes: And forthwith fent some of their Messengers to the King, whilft He staid at Dover, to complain of such evil Counsel; and to use all Importunity, that He would pass it, as a Matter of absolute Necessity for the Peace and Security of the Kingdom; and for the carrying on the Service for suppressing the Rebellion in Ireland; with many new Expressions " of "the Presumption of those malignant Persons, who "gave his Majesty such Advice," and with Boldness enough, that the King should prefer such Advice before the Wisdom of the Parliament.

THEY who hated the Bishops most, and were The Effect of glad that They were rid of the Opposition They this Condes-gave them in all their Demands, seemed not at all several Parcontented; but enlarged exceedingly upon the Mif- ". chief, in not granting the Militia. And no Doubt there were many the less pleased with the passing the other, in doubt, that They should thereby lose the Affistance of very many towards the utter Extirpation of Episcopacy, and the Disposal of all Church Lands, upon which their Hearts were fet; and who would with the more Choler have concurred with them, if that Bill, as well as the other, had been rejected; and therefore They rather wished They had the other, which They knew would bring all their Ends to pass. They who loved the Church, and were afraid of so great an Alteration in the Frame and Constitution of Parliament, as the utter taking away of one of the Three Estates, of which the Parliament is compounded, were infinitely provoked; and lamented the passing that Act, as

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an Introduction to the entire Destruction of the Government of the Church, and to the Alteration of the Religion of the Kingdom: And very many, who more confidered the Policy than the Justice and Piety of the State, did ever after believe, that being removed out of the Parliament, the preferving them in the Kingdom was not worth any notable Contention. Then They looked upon the King's Condescension in this Particular, in a Subject that all Men knew had a wonderful Influence upon his Conscience, as He often took Occasion to profess, as a Manifestation, that He would not be constant in retaining, and denying any Thing that should be impetuously and fiercely demanded; which as it exceedingly confirmed those, who were engaged in that Party; fo it abated the Courage of too many, who had always opposed them, and heartily detefted their Proceedings; and made them more remiss in their Attendance at the House, and less folicitous for any Thing that was done there: Who by Degrees first became a neutral Party, believing They should be safe, in angering no Body; and when They afterwards found no Security in that Indifferency, They adhered to those, who They faw had the best Success; and so went Sharers with them in their Future Attempts, according to their feveral Tempers and Inclinations.

THE Benefit that would redound to the King from not passing the other Bill of the Militia, more than avoiding the Infamy of consenting to it, was not evident to discerning Men; for They foresaw (53) that They would quickly wrest it out of his Hands without his Consent; and that the Reputation of the Parliament was so great, that whatsoever the two Houses (which the People looked upon as the Parliament) should concur in, and enjoin to be done, the People would look upon as Law, and observe it accordingly; so that when by the Re-

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moval of fo many Voices out of the House of Peers, as the Bishops made, who were always firm to the Crown and Government, the House of Commons found a Concurrence from the Lords, in all They proposed, their joint Determination would find Obedience, for the most Part, from the People: Whom there were all Endeavours used to corrupt, and possess, by presently printing, and causing to be read in Churches, all their Messages and Petitions to the King; that They might fee all their Concernments were for the Good of the Kingdom, and

Preservation of the People.

WHEN the King accompanied the Queen to Dover, where They expected a Wind many Days, He fent the Prince, under his new Governour, the Marquis of Hertford, to Richmond; that there might be no Room for the Jealoufy, that the Prince should be transported beyond the Seas; which had been infused into the Minds of many; and would have made a great Noise, if He had waited upon his Mother to Dover: But as foon as the Wind appeared hopeful for her Majesty's Embarkation, the King sent The King an Express to Richmond, that the Prince should at finds for the tend his Majesty at Greenwich, the Saturday follow- Greenwich. ing: The Marquis being at that Time very much indisposed by a Defluction upon his Eyes, and a Ca-The Parliament being prefently informed, as They had Spies in all Places, of this Direction, and there being yet no Certainty of the Queen's being embarked, was much troubled; and refolved to fend to his Majesty, by Members of both Houses, to desire that the Prince might not remove from Richmond, at least till the Marquis recovered Health enough to be able to attend him; and at the fame Time fent an express Order to the Marquis, that He should not suffer the Prince to go from thence, ill He himself should be able to go with him.

fent to the King on that Occasion.

Mr. Hyde is THEY appointed one Lord and two Commoners to carry the Meffage to the King, whom They believed to be still at Dover; and Mr. Hyde coming accidentally into the House, when the Matter was in Debate, They appointed him to be one of the Meffengers; which no Excuses could free him from, for They did not intend it as a Favour to him; fo that They were obliged presently to begin their Journey; and that Night They went to Gravefend. The next Day They were fully informed of the Queen's being gone to Sea; and that the King would be that Night at Canterbury; whither the Messengers made what Haste They could; and found his Majesty there, with a very little Court, most of his Servants having Leave to go before to London, the better to provide themselves for a farther Journey. When They read their Message to the King, in the hearing whereof He shewed no Satisfaction, He appointed them to attend him after He had supped, and They should receive their Anfwer: And accordingly about nine of the Clock He caused it to be read, and delivered it to them; taking no Notice of Mr. Hyde as if He had been known to him. That Messenger who was a Member of the House of Peers received it from his Majesty, as of Right He ought to do, that it might be first reported to that House.

> MR. Hyde was very much troubled when He heard the Answer read; for it had much Sharpness in it, which at that Time could only provoke them: So without taking any Notice of it to his Compa-(54 nions, He pretended to them only to be very weary, and defirous to go to Bed, and bade them good Night; having the Conveniency offered him by the Lord Grandison, (his familiar Friend) to lodge with him in a House, next the Court: And so the other two Messengers making Haste to find some Lodging in an Inn, He fent the Lord Grandison to the Duke

Duke of Richmond, to desire the King that He might speak with him before He went into his Bed. The King was half undressed, yet said He would stay for him, and bade that He should make Haste to the back Stairs; and as soon as He came thither, the Duke went in to the King, who immediately came out in his Night Dress; and the Duke having before sent all other Servants from

thence, retired likewise himself.

HE told the King that "He was forry that his "Majesty had expressed so much Displeasure in his "Answer, which could produce no Good, and "might do Hurt; and therefore He defired He "would call for it, and alter fome Expressions;" which his Majesty was not inclined to do; enlarging himself with much Sharpness upon the Insolence of the Message, and of the Order They had sent to the Marquis of Hertford: And seemed to apprehend that the Prince would not be fuffered to attend him at Greenwich; the Thought whereof had caused that Warmth in him. It was now Friday Night, and his Majesty resolved the next Night to be at Greenwich; and to stay there all Sunday; and then to pursue his former Resolutions: Upon which Mr. Hyde told him, "that He hoped the Prince would "be at Greenwich as foon as He, and then that "Point would be cleared; that They could not re-"port His Message to the Parliament till Monday "Morning; and that They might well attend upon "his Majesty again on Sunday, and receive his Plea-"fure; and at that Time the Lord Falkland and "Sir John Colepepper would be likewise present, "when his Majesty might take what Resolution "He pleased in that Matter; and therefore He be-"fought his Majesty that He would presently send " a Servant to the other two Messengers, at such an Inn, for the Answer He had delivered to them, of which He would farther confider when He " came

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fwer to the Parliament. "came to Greenwich; where He commanded them "to attend him on Sunday, and that He would dif-

"patch them foon enough for them to be at London On whom He "that Night." All which his Majesty was pleased prevails to alto confent to, and immediately fent a Gentleman to them for the Paper, with that Injunction; and then fent it by the Lord Grandison the same Night to Mr. Hyde, whom He had commanded to attend him on Sunday Morning, faying He had very much to

fav to him.

WHEN his Majesty came to Greenwich, He found the Prince there with his Governour, who though indisposed in his Health, without returning any Anfwer to the Parliament, brought the Prince very early from Richmond to Greenwich; with which the King was very much pleased, and in very good Humour. And the next Morning when Mr. Hyde came to Court (to whom his Companions had told, that the King had fent for his Answer to them again, and appointed them to attend him for it at Greenwich that Afternoon; which They had agreed together to do) the King being come into the Privy Chamber, and feeing him there, asked him aloud, where the others who came in the Message with him were; and faid, He would expect them in the Afternoon; and so discoursing somewhat of the Weather, that all Men heard, He came near him, and as it were passing by (which no Body took Notice of, the Room not being full) He bade him dine with Porter, at the back Stairs, that He might be in the Privy Chamber when He rose from Dinner; (55) and after He had dined He found him there; and at that Hour most People looking after their own Dinner, his Majesty did, without any Body's taking Notice of it, bid him follow him into the Privy Gallery; where He was no fooner entered, than the King locked the Door with his own Key, faying, "We will not now be diffurbed, for there is no " Man

"Man in the House now, who hath a Key to this "Door." Then He said, "I will say Nothing of "the Answer, for I am sure Falkland and Colepepper "will be here anon; and then prepare one, and I "will not differ with you; for now I have got-"ten Charles, I care not what Answer I fend to " them."

THEN He spake of many Particulars of the Par- The King's liament with Warmth enough; and lamented his bim at having confented to the Bill concerning the Bishops, Greenwich, which He faid, He was prevailed upon to do, for his Wife's Security; but He should now be without any Fear to displease them. He said, He would lay the next Night at Theobalds; where He would flay a Day or two, that his Servants might provide themselves to attend him Northward: That He fhould not fee him any more before He took that Journey; and therefore He required him upon all Occasions to write to him, and advertise him of such Matters as were fit for him to know; and to prepare and fend him Answers to such Declarations or Messages as the Parliament should send to him: He faid. He knew well the Danger He underwent if it were discovered: But his Majesty assured him, and bade him be confident of it, that no Person alive, but himself and his two Friends, should know that He corresponded with his Majesty; and that He would himself transcribe every Paper in his own Hand, before He would shew it to any Man, and before his Secretary should write it out. Mr. Hyde told him, that He writ a very ill Hand, which would give his Majesty too much Trouble to transcribe himself, and that He had so much Friendship with Secretary Nicholas, that He was well contented He should be trusted: To which the King said, Nicholas was a very honest Man; and He would trust him in any Thing that concerned himself; but in this Particular, which would be fo penal to the other.

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other, if it should be known, it was not necessary; for He would quickly learn to read the Hand, if it were writ at first with a little the more Care; and no Body should see it but himself. And his Majesty continued fo firm to this Resolution, that though the Declarations from the Houses shortly after grew fo voluminous, that the Answers frequently contained five or fix Sheets of Paper, very closely writ; his Majesty always transcribed them with his own Hand; which fometimes took him up two or three Days, and a good Part of the Night, before He produced them to the Council, where they were first read; and then He burned the Originals. And He gave himself no Ease in this particular, till Mr. Hyde left the Parliament, and by his Majesty's Command attended upon him at York: Which will be mentioned in its Time.

WHILST the King held this Discourse with him in the Privy Gallery, many of the Lords were come from London; and not finding him, the Earls of Essex, and Holland, who by their Offices had Keys to the Gallery, opened that Door, and went in; and feeing no Body there, walked to the farther End; where in a turning Walk the King and Mr. Hyde were: And though They presently drew back, the King himself as well as Mr. Hyde was a little discomposed; and said, "I am very forry for this "Accident, I meant to have faid fomewhat to you " of those Gentlemen; but we must not stay longer "together; forget not what I have faid; and fend " me presently the Answer for your Message, and (56) "then attend with your Companions in the Privy "Chamber, and I will come out and deliver it to "them:" And fo He withdrew: The two Earls fmiling, and faluting Mr. Hyde civilly. He quickly found the Lord Falkland, and Colepepper, and They as quickly agreed upon the Answer which the Lord Falkland carried to the King: And his Majesty

Where He draws up the King's An-

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jesty approving, and signing it, He came out, and delivered it, after He had caused it to be read, to the Messengers who attended to receive it; and who went that Night to London; and the next Morning at the first sitting of the Houses, reported, and delivered it.

IT was expected, and believed, that as foon as the Queen was gone for Holland, the King would return to Wbiteball, and refide there. And many wife Men were of Opinion, that if He had done fo. He would have been treated with more Duty and Respect; and that He would be able to bring his Business to a fair End, by very moderate Condescensions; for the universal Prejudice and Averfion was to the Queen, how unjustly and unreasonably foever; and to the King only as it was generally believed, that He governed himself entirely by her Dictates; and many of those, whose Countenance had most supported the violent Party, by their Concurrence with them, were grown weary of those Excesses; and as They had been seduced, and craftily drawn farther than They meant to have gone, fo They plainly difcerned that there would be farther Attempts made, than were agreeable to their Wishes, or their Interests; and therefore refolved to fecond them no farther.

The Earl of Essex himself was in his Nature an honest Man, and a Man of Honour; and though He did not think the King had any gracious Purposes towards him, or great Considence in him, yet He was willing to retire from that angry Company; and did neither desire the Dignity of the King should be affronted, or the Government receive an Alteration, or Diminution; and did hope nothing more, than to make himself the Instrument to reconcile the Parliament to the King, by some moderate and plausible Expedient. But it was no sooner known in the Houses, that his Majesty was gone to Theobalds, and had

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taken the Prince with him, with a Purpose of making a Progress farther Northward; but They fell into all their usual Heat, and Debate, of their just Causes of Jealousy and Distrust, and the Wickedness of those Persons who missed him; and the next Morning, being well informed that the King staid all Day at Theobalds, They resolved to fend a Committee of four Lords, and eight Commoners to him, to put him in Mind of his violating their Privileges, for which They had yet no Reparation or Satisfaction; his Refusal to settle the Militia, whereby He left his Kingdom and People exposed to the Violence of a Foreign Enemy, or a domestick Infurrection; the great Jealoufies and Fears which poffeffed the Minds of all his Subjects, which would be now exceedingly increased by his Removal in this Conjuncture from his Parliament; and thereupon concluded, that He would return to London, or refide at fuch a Diftance, that They might eafily repair to him.

WHEN the Persons designed for the Message withdrew to prepare themselves for their Journey, the Message being read and agreed upon, Mr. Hyde went likewise out of the House; and that the King might not be furprifed with the Sight of the Message before He heard of it, He sent instantly to the Lord Grandison (in whom He had entire Confidence) to speak with him; and defired him to cause his Horse to be made ready, that He might with all posible Expedition carry a Letter to the King, which He would prepare by the Time He could be ready for the Journey. He writ to the King, that fuch Persons would be presently with him; and the (57) fage from the Substance of the Message They would bring to him; which in Respect of the Length of it, and of many Particulars in it, would require fome Time to anfwer, which He should receive soon enough; and for the present, He might, upon the Delivery, make-

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His Advice to the King upon a Mestwo Houses.

fome short Resentment of the Houses proceeding with him; and conclude, that He would send an Answer to their Message in due Time. The Lord Grandison came to Theobalds when the King had newly elined, so that He was alone in his Bedchamber; and as soon as He had delivered the Letter, He returned to London, and met the Messengers within a Mile or two of Theobalds.

As foon as They had delivered their Meffage. which one of them read, the King with a displeased Countenance, and in a warmer and more sprightly Tone than was natural to him, told them, "that "He was amazed at their Message, and could not "conceive what They would have, nor what They "meant to do: That They made a great Noise with "their Privileges, but forgot that He had Privileges "too, which They made no Conscience to violate: "That They talked of their Fears and Jealousies, " for which They had not the least Ground; but if "They would well confider, They would find that "They gave Him Caufe enough for Jealoufy:" And concluded, "that He would think of their Message, "and fend an Answer to the Houses in convenient "Time:" Without faying any Thing of his Journey, when or whither He meant to go; nor held any farther Discourse with them. The Manner and the Matter of the King's short Discourse to them wonderfully furprised the Messengers, who were all Persons of the best Quality in both Houses, the Earl of Pembroke being the Chief, and some of them were of known Affections to his Majesty's Service; who were wonderfully delighted with the King's quick and sharp Treatment, with which the rest were as much troubled: And fo They all returned the fame Night to London.

THE King resolved to pursue the Course agreed upon with the Queen at her Departure; and would no more resume the Consideration of staying nearer

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the Parliament: Very reasonably apprehending, that He should render himself liable every Day to new Affronts. 'And the Practice both Houses had gotten, to fend for Persons by a Serjeant at Arms, upon any Suggestions of light Discourse, or upon general and ungrounded Suspicions, by which They were compelled to give long Attendance, if They were not committed to Prison, had so terrified all Conditions of Men, that very few reforted to the Court. And They who did most diligently feem to attend their Duty there, did in Truth perform that Service, that They might with the more Ease betray their Master, and gratify those, who They thought would at last bring themselves into those Places and Offices, upon which They were to depend. So that He thought it most absolutely neceffary to be at such a Distance from Westminster, that People might be less apprehensive of their Power: Refolving likewife, that no Person who attended him, or reforted to the Place where He was, should yield any Obedience to their Summons, upon those general Suggestions; or any Applications They should make to his Majesty. And though it might have met with better Success if He had taken the contrary Resolution, and staid in, or near Whiteball; yet the Hazards, or Inconveniences which might very probably have attended that Counfel, were too much in View, for wife Men to engage positively in the Advice. Besides, the Concert that had been made with the Queen shut out all oppo-The King be- fite Confultations: And the King with a small Court, gins bis Pro-gress North- after two Days stay at Theobalds, began his Progress (58) toward Newmarket; and fometimes resting a Day in a Place, He advanced by eafy Journies North-

HE took the Prince with him, the Marquis likewife attending him; but left the Duke of York still at Richmond, till He came to York: And then likewife

wise He sent for his Highness, who came thither to him: And the Morning He left Theobalds, He sent his Answer to the two Houses, to their Message

They had fent to him thither.

THEY had long detefted and suspected Mr. Hyde, from the Time of their first Remonstrance, for framing the King's Messages and Answers, which They now every Day received to their intolerable Vexation; yet knew not how to accuse him. now that the Earls of Effex and Holland had difcovered his being thut up with the King at Greenwich; and the Marquis of Hamilton had, once before, found him very early in Private with the King at Windfor, at a Time when the King thought all Passages had been stopped; together with his being of late more Absent from the House than He had used to be; and the Resort of the other Two every Night to his Lodging, as is mentioned before, fatisfied them that He was the Person; and They refolved to disenable him to manage that Office long. Sir John Colepepper had as many Eyes upon them, as They had upon the other, and an equal Animosity against them; and had Familiarity and Friendship with some Persons, who from the second or third Hand came to know many of the greatest Designs, before They were brought upon the Stage. For though They managed those Councils with the greatest Secrecy, and by few Persons, which amounted to no more than pure Defigns in Speculation; yet when any Thing was to be transacted in Publick by the House, They were obliged, not only to prepare those, of whom They were themfelves confident, but to allow those Confidents to communicate it to others, in whom They confided: And so Men who did not concur with them, came to know fometimes their Intentions, Time enough to prevent the Success They proposed to themfelves.

Vol. I. H AND

A Defign of Sending Mr. Hyde to the Tower;

AND by this Means Sir John Colepepper meeting at Night with the Lord Falkland and Mr. Hyde, affured them, that it had been refolved that Day to have feized upon all Three, and fent them to the Tower: Of which He having received Notice as He was going to the House, returned to his Lodging, not being able to give the fame Information to the other Two; but that his own being absent prevented the Mischief. For He knew it was resolved the Night before, that when the Three were together in the House, Somebody should move the House, "that They would apply themselves to make some " strict Enquiry after the Persons, who were most " like to give the King the evil Counsel He had " lately followed; and who prepared those Answers " and Messages They received from his Majesty;" upon which, by one and another, those Three Perfons should be named, and particular Reasons given for their Sufpicion; and that They did not doubt, but if their Friends were well prepared before hand, They should be able to cause them to be all fent to the Tower; and then They doubted not They should be able to keep them there. But it was then likewife agreed that They would not make the Attempt, but at a Time when They were all Three in the House; upon hearing whereof, and finding that They Two were there, He went back to his Lodging; knowing that thereupon there would be Nothing done.

Defeated.

UPON this Communication, though They were all of Opinion that the Defign was so extravagant and exceeding all the Rules of common Justice, that They would not be able to procure the Confent of the major Part of the House in it, if there were any (59) confiderable Number present; yet because very many usually absented themselves, and They were not governed by any Rules which had been formerly obferved; They thought fit to resolve that One of them

would

would be always present in the House, that They might know all that was done; but that They would never be there altogether; and feldom Two of them; and when They were, They would only hear, and speak no more than was of absolute Neceffity. For it was now grown a very difficult Thing for a Man who was in their Disfavour, to fpeak against what They proposed, but that They would find some Exception to some Word or Expression; upon which, after He had been called upon to explain, He was obliged to withdraw, and then They had commonly a major Part to fend him to the Tower, or to expel him the House; or at least to oblige him to receive a Reprehension at the Bar upon his Knees. And fo They had used Sir Ralph Hopton at that Time; who excepting to forme Expression that was used in a Declaration prepared by a Committee, and presented to the House, which He faid was dishonourable to the King, They faid, it was a Tax upon the Committee; caused him to withdraw; and committed him to the Tower; which terrified many from fpeaking at all, and caufed more to absent themselves from the House; where too fmall Numbers appeared any Day. These Three Gentlemen kept the Resolution agreed upon, till They all found it necessary to forbear any farther Attendance upon the House.

About the End of April, which was in the Year Mr. Hyde is 1642, Mr. Hyde received a Letter from the King, kingto York, wherein He required him, that as foon as He could be spared from his Business there, He should repair to his Majesty at York, where He had Occasion for his Service: Which when He had communicated to his two Friends, They were all of Opinion, that it was necessary He should defer that Journey for some Time; there being every Day great Occasion of consulting together, and of sending Dispatches to the King. And it was a wonderful Ex-H 2 pedition

pedition that was then used between York and London, when Gentlemen undertook the Service, as enough were willing to do: Infomuch, as when They dispatched a Letter on Saturday Night, at that Time of the Year, about twelve at Night, They received always the King's Answer, Monday by ten of the Clock in the Morning. His Majesty was content that He should stay as long as the Neceffity required; but that as foon as He might be dispensed with, He would expect him. And it was happy that He did stay, for there was an Occasion then fell out, in which his Presence was very useful, + towards disposing the Lord Keeper Littleton to send the Great Seal to the King at York; and to resolve upon going thither himself as soon as possible to attend his Majesty; which Resolution being taken, it was agreed between him and his two Friends, that it was now Time that He should be gone (the King having fent for him fome Time before) after a Day or two; in which Time the Declaration of the 19th of May would be passed, which being very long, He might carry with him; and prepare the Answer upon the Way, or after He came to York.

Towards
which He
begins his
Journey.

It was upon a Wednesday that He resolved to begin his Journey; having told the Speaker, that it was very necessary, by the Advice of his Physician, that He should take the Air of the Country for his Health; and his Physician certified the same; which Caution was necessary: For He had a Week or two before made a Journey into the Country to his own House; and his Absence being taken Notice of, a Messenger was immediately sent to him, to require so him immediately to attend the House; upon which He found it necessary to return without Delay; and was willing to prevent the like sudden Enquiry; and so prepared the Speaker to answer for him. He

† History of the Rebellion, Folio. Vol. I. p. 444, &c.

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resolved with the Lord Falkland, to stay at a Friend's House near Oxford, and little out of the Road He meant to take for York, till He should hear of the Keeper's Motion, of which He promised to give him timely Notice; not giving in the mean Time any Credit to his Purpose of moving; but He was

quickly convinced.

Much Notice had been taken of Mr. Hyde's frequent Refort to him; and of his being often shut up with him; and when He took his Leave of him, the Night before He left the Town, the Keeper was walking in his Garden with Mr. Hollis, and Mr. Glyn; who had (as They faid) then obferved, that as foon as the Keeper's Eyes were upon him, at his Entrance into the Garden, He had shewn fome Impatience to be free from them; and when They were gone, others took Notice (for there were many in the Garden) as They pretended, that after They had walked fome Time together, They took their Leave of each other in another Manner than was usual; and which was not True. But He had not fo good a Name, as that any Thing of that Kind would not easily gain Belief: So that Dr. Morley (who is fince Bishop of Winchester) being in Westminster Hall on the Monday Morning when the News came of the Lord Keeper's Flight; a Person of great Authority in the Parliament met him, and with great Passion inveighing against the Keeper, told him that They knew well enough that his Friend Mr. Hyde had contrived that Mischief, and brought it to pass; for which He would be that Morning, or the next, accused of High Treason; which the Doctor (who was ever very much his Friend) hearing, went presently to the Lord Falkland, and told him of it, and defired to know where He was, that He might gave him timely Notice of it; knowing a Gentleman, a very near Friend of his, who would immediately ride to him. The H 3

Lord Falkland was then writing to him to inform him of the Keeper's having made good his Word, of which He had but then Notice, and to advise him to profecute his Northern Journey with all Expedition; and defired the Doctor that He would fend for the Gentleman, whom He would prefently direct where He should find Mr. Hyde; who did make fo good Hafte, that He delivered the Lord Falkland's Letter to him early the fame Night.

And after a Short Stay at Ditchley

HE was then at Ditabley with the Lady Lee (fince Countefs of Rochester) and the Person who brought the Advertisement to him was John Ayliffe, whom He dearly loved. He no fooner received the Advertisement, but He thought it Time for him to be gone; and as He was utterly unacquainted with the Way, having never been in the Northern Parts, and apprehended that there would be Care taken to intercept him if He went in any common Road, there was with him at that Time Mr. Chillingworth, whose Company He had desired from Oxford, purposely for that Occasion; and who was well acquainted with those Ways, which led almost as far as Yorkshire. They sent their Horses that Night to a Village near Coventry, where Mr. Chillingworth's Brother had a Farm; and then in the Morning They put themselves into the Lady's Coach, which with fix Horses carried them to that Village, thirty Miles from Ditchley; where after They had a little refreshed themselves, They took their Horses; and that Night, out of all Roads, reached Lutterworth, a Village in Leicestershire, where Mr. Chillingworth had likewife a Friend, who was Parfon of the Parish, who received them very kindly. And fo by unufual Ways They gor through Derbyshire, until They (61) came to Yorkshire; and then rested at Nostall, the House of Sir John Worstenholme; who, though He and his Family were at London, had given Order for his very good Reception; it having been before refolved

arrives at Noftall,

folved with his Majesty's Consent, that He should flav in some private Place near York, till his Majesty was informed of it, and till his Affairs absolutely required his Presence there: There being many Reafons that He should be concealed in those Parts, as long as might be convenient. Noftall was within twenty Miles of York; and from thence He gave his Majesty Notice of his being there; and fent him the Answer that was prepared to the Declaration of the nineteenth of May. And the King the next Day fent Mr. Albburnbam to him, with the Declaration of the twenty-fixth of May, and which was the highest They had yet published; and to which He wished an Answer should be prepared as foon as possible it might be, that the Poison thereof might not work too long upon the Minds of the

People.

As foon as it was taken Notice of in the Parliament that Mr. Hyde was absent, Enquiry was made, what was become of him, and a Motion made in the House, that He might be fent for. The Speaker faid, that He had acquainted him with his going into the Country to recover his Indisposition which troubled him, by fresh Air; andthat Dr. Winston his Physician was with him, and informed him, that He was troubled with the Stone; and that his having fate fo much in the House, in that very hot Weather, had done him much Harm; and therefore that He had advised him to refresh himself in the Country Air; with which Teftimony They were for the prefent fatisfied; though Mr. Peard faid confidently, "that He was troubled "with no other Stone than the Stone in his Heart; " and therefore He would have him fent for where-"ever He was, for He was most consident that "He was doing them Mischief, wherever He was." But He prevailed not, till their Committee from York fent them Word, that He was come thither, H 4 and

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and almost always with the King. It is said before, that He staid at Nostall at the House of Sir John Worstenholme, from whence He sent every Day to the King, and received his Majesty's Commands; and He intended to have staid longer there, where He could better intend and dispatch any Business He was to do; and He was willing for some Time not to be seen at York, which He knew would

quickly be taken Notice of at Westminster.

WHEN He came first thither, He found that the King was not fatisfied with the Lord Keeper, which gave him much Trouble; his Majesty having sent him Word that He did not like his Humours, nor know what to make of him. Mr. Elliot who had brought the Seal to the King, to magnify his own Service, and not imagining that the Keeper intended to follow him, had told many Stories; as if the Keeper had refused to deliver the Seal, and that He got it by Force, by having locked the Door upon him, and threatened to kill him, if He would not give it to him, which upon fuch his Manhood He did for pure Fear consent unto. And his Tale got fo much Credit with the King that He hardly difbelieved it, when He came himself, though it was in the Nature of it very improbable that a fingle Man, by another Man as strong as himself (who was attended by many Servants in the next Room) should be suffered to shut the Door upon him, and to extort That from him, which He had no Mind to part with; and afterwards to go out of his House, when there were Persons enough in every Room to have laid Hands upon him, and to have taken That again by Force, which He had ravished away. Befides that his Majesty knew He expected to be (62) fent for at that Time; and that if He had repented the Promise He had made, and resolved not to perform it, He could have found several Ways to have evaded it; and refused to have admitted Mr. Elliot

Elliot to speak with him: But the Prejudice his Majesty had before contracted against him, and the great Considence Elliot had in the Relation, which was natural in him, had shut out all those Resections. Yet when his Majesty saw him, He received him graciously; and caused him to be lodged in the Court, in a Room very near his Majesty; which many believed to be rather out of Jealousy and Care that He should not again return, than out of Respect to him; his Majesty keeping still the Seal himself, and not restoring it to his Custody; which could not but make some Impression on Him, and more on others, who from thence concluded that He would have no more to do with the Seal; and

carried themselves towards him accordingly.

THE Lords who were come from the House of Peers, and had been offended at his Behaviour there, gave him little Respect now; but rather gave Credit to Mr. Elliot's Relation: And were forward to make Relation of his Carriage in the House to his Disadvantage, to the King himself; so that it was no Wonder that the poor Gentleman grew very And when He was fent for to at-Melancholick. tend the King (who was himself present when the Great Seal was to be used; nor did ever suffer it to be used but in the Presence of the Keeper, who figned all Things as He ought to do by his Office) when any Proclamation of Treason, as that against the Earl of Effex, or against the Proceedings of the Houses, as in the Business of the Militia, or the like, was brought to be sealed, He used all Delays; and made many Exceptions; and found Faults in Matters of Form, and otherwise, and sometimes very reasonably; yet in such a Manner, as made it evident He retained many Fears about him, as if He was not without Apprehension that He might fall again into their Hands; which was the Cause that the King had faid, that He knew not what to make of him.

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Mr. Hyde verites from Noftall to the

MR. Hyde, as foon as He heard this, wrote a Letter to the King; and put him in Mind of all that had formerly passed in that Affair: How absolutely the Keeper had destroyed himself in the Account of the Parliament, by paying that Obedience which He ought to do to his Majesty's Commands; and that if He should be deprived of his Majesty's Favour, He must be of all Men the most miserable; and that himself should be most unfortunate, in having contributed fo much to his Ruin; which would call his Majesty's Good Nature, and even his Justice into Question: And therefore belought him to be Gracious to him, and to keep up his Spirits with his Countenance. However He made it his own humble Suit to his Majesty, that He would not take any fevere Resolution against him, before He gave Him leave to kiss his Hand, and to offer him some farther Considerations. Upon the Receipt of this Letter, the King sent him Word, that He would gratify him in the last part of his Letter, and conclude Nothing before He spake with him: In the mean Time He wished him to send the Keeper fome good Counsel; and that as foon as He should have dispatched some Business He had then upon his Hands, that He would come to York, where He would find much to do; and that He thought now, there would be less Reason every Day for his being concealed. And within four or five Days after, his Majesty sent Mr. Ashburnham to him to let him know, that He had every Day fo much to do with the Keeper, and found him fo refractory and obstinate, that He should not be able to keep the Promise He had made to him, if He did not (63) And goes from make Haste to York; and therefore bade him to be with him with all Convenience: Whereupon, within two Days after, for He had somewhat to dispatch that required Haste, and sooner than He intended, He waited upon his Majesty at York.

ebence to York.

WHEN

WHEN He came to the Court, being about four of the Clock in the Afternoon, the King was at Council, upon the publishing his Answer to the Declaration of the twenty fixth of May; which though it contained eight or nine Sheets of Paper, He brought to the Board in his own Hand writing; having kept the Promise He had made at Greenwich, to that Hour, in writing out all the Papers himself which had been fent to him; which had been a wonderful Task He had imposed on himself: So that He always fpent more than half the Day, shut up by himfelf in his Chamber, Writing; which was most of the News the Houses heard of him at London; and which perplexed them very much.

MR. Hyde was in the Gallery when the King came His Reception from Council; and as foon as He faw him, He bade there; him Welcome to York very graciously; and asked fome Questions aloud of him, as if He thought He had then come from London; and then called him into the Garden, where He walked with Him above an Hour. He faid at the beginning, "that They and Conver-"needed not now be afraid of being feen toge-fation guith "ther;" then used all the Expressions of Kindness to him that can be imagined; of the Service He had done him, and of the great Benefit He had received from it, even to the turning the Hearts of the whole Nation towards him again; and of his gracious Resolutions of rewarding him with the first Opportunity; and many Expressions of that Kind; which the other received with the Modesty and Reverence that became him. Then his Majesty spake of his Bufiness, and the Temper of that Country; and quickly entered upon finding Fault with the Keeper, and protested, if it were not for his Sake, He would turn him out of his Place that very Hour; and enlarged upon many Particulars of his Obstinacy, and of his Want of Courage, to such a Degree, as if He did really apprehend, that the Gentle-

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Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod would come and take him out of his Chamber.

Mr. Hyde told him, that He would discourage many good Men, who defired to ferve him very faithfully, if He were too fevere for fuch Faults as the Infirmities of their Nature, and Defects in their Education exposed them to: That if the Keeper, from those Impressions, had committed some Faults which might provoke his Majesty's Displeasure, He had redeemed those Errors by a signal Service, which might well wipe out the Memory of the other. The King faid with some Warmth, "that He "was fo far from another Opinion, that He would "hate himself if He did not believe that He had "made a full Expiation; and though He did think "that He had been wrought upon by him to per-" form that Part; yet He thought the Merit of it "far above any of his Transgressions; and that He "was disposed, from the first Minute of his coming " to York, to have renewed his old Kindness to him, "and Confidence in him; and would willingly have "given the Seal again into his Hands, if He had "found He had defired it: But that He found no "Serenity in his Countenance; nor any Inclination "to do what Necessity required: And whereas the "Parliament took Advantage, that none of his Ma-" jesty's Acts, which He had caused to be published, "were Authentick nor ought to be looked upon "as his, because the Great Seal had not been affix-"ed to them, which could not be done whilft the "Great Seal was at Westminster; now He had the "Seal by him, and fent Proclamations to be fealed, (64) "the Keeper was still as unwilling that they should " pass, as if He was still under their Power: Which " made him angry, and Nothing that He had done " before."

MR. Hyde replied, that "the poor Gentleman" could not but think himself disabliged to the "highest

"highest Extremity, in the Presumption of Mr. El-" liot; and that his extravagant and infolent Dif-"courses should find Credit, without his Majesty's "Reprehension and Vindication, who knew the Falf-"hood of them." And so put his Majesty in Mind of all that had passed; and of the other Circumstances, which made all the other's Brags impossible to be True. For his Fears and Apprehensions, He befought his Majesty to remember, that "He had "newly escaped out of that Region, where the "Thunder and Lightening is made; and that He "could hardly yet recover the Fright He had been "often in, and feen fo many others in; and that "his Majesty need not disturst him, He had passed "the Rubicon, and had no Hope but in his Majef-"ty." His Majesty concluded, that He should be Whom He refure to receive all necessary Countenance and Pro- conciles to the tection from him, of which He bade him to affure him, and prefently to visit him, which going to do, He met him in the Garden, and They there walked together.

HE found him full of Apprehension that He should be put out of his Place; and of the Ruin and Contempt that He should be then exposed to, which He had brought upon himself; but when the other answered him, that there was no Danger of that; and told him all that had passed between the King and Him; and that if He would, He might have the Seal in his own Cuftody again within an Hour; He was exceedingly revived, and defired him to intreat the King to keep the Great Seal still himself; that He would by no Means be answerable for the Safety of it; nor would trust any Servant of his own to look to it; which as it was wifely confidered and resolved by him, so it increased the King's Confidence in him; who would have been troubled if the other had accepted the Grace that was offered. And from that Time, when any Thing

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Thing was to be done, that administered any Argument for Doubt, Mr. Hyde always prepared him by Discourse; so that there was never after any Unkindness from the King towards him; but the Vigour of his Mind grew every Day less under a great Melancholy that oppressed him, from the Consideration of the Time, and of his own ill Condition in his Fortune; which was much worse than any Body

imagined it could be.

BEFORE He went out of the Garden, the Lord Howard, Sir Hugh Cholmely, and Sir Philip Stapleton (who were the Committee from the Parliament) had Intelligence that He was walking in the Garden with the King: whereupon They came prefently thither, and after They had faluted him with much Civility, They shewed him an Instruction They had from the Parliament; by which They were required, if any Member of either House came to York, They should let them know, that it was the Pleafure of the House that They should immediately attend the House; and signify to them what Answer tend the Par. They made; and fo They defired He would excuse liamem: His them for doing their Duty. He told them, He was but just then come thither in Obedience to his Majesty's Commands, and knew not yet what Service He was to do; but that as foon as his Majesty would give him Leave, He would return to the Parliament.

THERE happened an Accident, at Mr. Hyde's first coming to York, which He used often to speak of, and to be very merry at. One of the King's Servants had provided a Lodging for him, fo that when He alighted at the Court, He fent his Ser-(65) vants thither, and staid himself at the Court till after Supper, and till the King went into his Chamber; and then He had a Guide, who went with him, and conducted him to his Chamber; which He liked very well, and began to undress himself.

One of his Servants wished that He had any other Lodging, and defired him not to lie there; He asked why, it seemed to him a good Chamber: His Servant answered, that the Chamber was good, but the People of the House the worst He ever saw. and fuch, as He was confident would do him fome Mischief: At which wondering, his Servant told him, that the Persons of the House seemed to be of some Condition by their Habit, that was very good; and that the Servants when They came thither, found the Master and Mistress in the lower Room, who received them civilly, and shewed them the Chamber where their Master was to lodge; and wished them to call for any Thing They wanted, and so left them: That shortly after, one of them went down, and the Mistress of the House being again in the lower Room, where it feems She usually fate, She afked him, what his Mafter's Name was, which He told her; what faid She, that Hyde that is of the House of Commons? and He answering yes, She gave a great Shriek, and cried out, that He should not lodge in her House; cursing him with many bitter Execrations. Upon the Noise her Husband came in, and when She told him who it was that was to lodge in the Chamber above, He fwore a great Oath that He should not; and that He would rather fet his House on Fire than entertain him in it. The Servant stood amazed, knowing that his Master had never been in, or near that City; and defired to know what Offence He had committed against them; He told them He was confident that his Mafter did not know them, nor could be known to them. The Man answered after two or three Curfes, that He knew him well enough, and that He had undone Him, and his Wife, and his Children; and fo after repeating some new bitter Curses, He concluded, that He would set his House on Fire as soon as the Other should set his Foot

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Foot in it; and so He and his Wife went away in a great Rage into an inner Room, and clapped the

Door to them.

WHEN his Servant had made this Relation to him, He was no less surprised; knew not what to make of it; asked whether the People were drunk; was affured that They were very fober, and appeared before this Passion to be well bred. He sent to defire the Master of the House to come to him, that They might confer together, and that He would immediately depart his House if He defired it. He received no Answer, but that He and his Wife were gone to Bed; upon which He faid no more, but that, if They were gone to Bed, He would go to Bed too, and did accordingly. Though He was not diffurbed in the Night, the Morning was not at all calmer; the Master and the Mistress stormed as much as ever; and would not be perfuaded to speak with him: But He then understood the Reason: The Man of the House had been an Attorney in the Court of the President and Council of the North, in great Reputation and Practice there; and thereby got a very good Livelihood, with which He had lived in Splendour; and Mr. Hyde had fate in the Chair of that Committee, and had carried up the Votes of the Commons against that Court to the House of Peers, upon which it was diffolved: Which He confessed was a better Reason for being angry with him, than many others had, who were as angry, and perfecuted him more. However, He thought himself obliged to remove the Eye-fore from them, and to quit the Lodging that had been affigned to him; and He was much better accommodated by the Kindness of a good Prebendary of the Church, Dr. Hodshon, who sent (66) He resides at to invite him to lodge in his House, as soon as He heard He was come to Town; where He refided as long as the Court staid there.

York with Dr. Hodfhon.

THERE

THERE was now a great Conflux of the Members of both Houses of Parliament to York; insomuch as there remained not in the House of Commons above a fifth Part of the whole Number; and of the House of Peers so few, that there continued not at Westminster twenty Lords. Yet They proceeded with the fame Spirit and Prefumption, as when their Numbers were full; published new Declarations against the King; raised Soldiers for their Army apace; and executed their Ordinance for the Militia in all the Counties of England, the Northern Parts only excepted; forbad all Persons to resort to the King; and intercepted many in their Journey towards York, and committed them to Prison: Notwithstanding which, many Persons of Quality every Day flocked thither; and it was no longer fafe for those Members to stay in the Houses of Parliament, who refolved not to concur with them in their unwarrantable Defigns; and therefore the Lord Falkland and Sir John Colepepper shortly after repaired likewise to York.

WHEN the King declared that He would go to Beverley, a Place within four Miles of Hull, the Noise of the King's Journey thither made a great Impression upon the Parliament. Where, how great a Concurrence foever there was, in those unwarrantable Actions which begot the War; yet a small Number of those, who voted both the raising the Army, and making the General, did in Truth intend, or believe that there would be a War: And therefore when They looked upon it as begun in this March of the King's to Hull (for They confidered their own Actions as done only to prevent a War, by making the King unable to make it, who as They thought only defired it) They moved prefently for some Overtures of an Accommodation, which that angry Party that refolved against it, never durst absolutely reject; but consenting cheer-Vol. I.

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fully to it, got thereby Authority to infert fuch Things in the Address, as must inevitably render it ineffectual. So, at this Time They fent the Earl of Holland, a Person whom They knew to be most unacceptable to the King, with two Members of the House of Commons, who came to Beverley the Day the King arrived there. The Subject of their Message was, after several specious Expressions, and Professions of their Duty, to diffuade his Majesty from making War against his Parliament, by proceeding in his Enterprize against Hull, which the Parliament was obliged to defend. And all the Expedient They proposed for the avoiding this War was, that He would confent to the mineteen Propofitions, which They had formerly made to him at York, and to which He had long fince returned his Answer; and both the one and the other were

THESE nineteen Propositions, which contained the Disinherison of the Crown of all its choice Regalities, and left only the Shadow and empty Name of the King, had been framed by the Houses after Mr. Hyde left London. And because He had so much Work then upon his Hands, as They believed He would not be able to dispatch foon enough, the Lord Falkland and Sir John Colepepper undertook to prepare an Answer to them themfelves; and fo divided the Propositions between them; and in a short Time so finished their Anfwer that They fent it to the King, and defired that Mr. Hyde might peruse it, and then cause it to be published and printed. The Answer was full to all Particulars; and writ with very much Wit and Sharpness; but there were some Expressions in it, which He liked not, as prejudicial to the King, and (67) in Truth a Mistake in Point of Right, in that Part which had been prepared by Sir John Colepepper; who had taken it up upon Credit, and without weigh-

ing the Consequence, did really believe that it had been True; which was, that in the Discourse of the Constitution of the Kingdom, He had declared, that the King, and the House of Peers, and the House of Commons made the Three Estates: And for this Reason Mr. Hyde did not advance the Printing it; and told the King, that all the Particulars in those Mr. Hyde Propositions had been enough answered in former advise the King not to Answers to other Declarations (wich was True) and publish the therefore that this needed not be published: With Parliament's which his Majesty was fatisfied, without knowing nincteen Prothe particular true Reason; which He thought not positions. fit to communicate, for both the Persons Sakes, of whose Affection for the Church (which was principally concerned in that Mistake, since in Truth the Bishops make the Third Estate, the King being the Head and Sovereign of the Whole) his Majefty was always jealous.

But They no fooner came to York, than They appeared much unfatisfied, that that Answer was not printed: And the Lord Falkland finding it remained still in Mr. Hyde's Hands, He expostulated warmly with him of the Reasons; and in some Paffion faid, "He therefore difliked it because He Lord Falk-"had not writ it himself." Upon which, without tulation with faying more than that "He never expected fo un- bim thereon. "kind a Reproach from Him," He delivered the written Copy to him, and He immediately procured the King's Confent, and fent it to the Press that Night, with Order to lose no Time in the Impresfion. Of which the King was afterwards very fenfible; and that excellent Lord, who intended not the least Unkindness (nor did it produce the least Interruption in their Friendship) was likewise much troubled when He knew the Reason; and imputed

it to his own Inadvertency, and to the Infusion of fome Lawyers who had missed Sir John Colepepper; and to the Declarations which many of the Prela-

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tical Clergy frequently and ignorantly made, that the Bishops did not fit in Parliament, as the Representatives of the Clergy, and so could not be the

Third Estate.

IT happened that the Day the Earl of Holland came to Beverley, Mr. Hyde had been riding Abroad; and returning to Beverley, happened to be in the fame Road, when the Earl of Holland and his Company profecuted their Journey to the King: When meeting together, there passed the usual Salutations which are between Persons well known to each "be Welcome to all honest Men at the Court, be-

with the Earl

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Mr. Hyde's other. "He hoped (the Earl said) that He should of Holland. " cause He came to invite the King to return to his "Parliament; and to abolish all Jealousies between "them." The other answered, "He would be very "Welcome indeed, if He brought proper Expedients "to produce either of those Effects: But then his "Errand must be of another Composition, than "what the King understood it to be." Upon which They entered upon a warmer Discourse than it may be either of them intended; and as the Earl spake in another Style than He had used to do, of the Power and Authority of the Parliament, and how much They were fuperiour to any Opposition or Contradiction; fo the Other in the Debate was less referved, and kept a less Guard upon himself than He used to do; so that They seemed nothing pleased with each other: Nor did Mr. Hyde visit him after his coming to Beverley, because He was informed that the Earl had, to many Persons who resorted to him, repeated with some Liberty and Sharpness, what had passed between them; and not without

He is exempt- some Menaces what the Parliament would do. And (68) ed from Par- as foon as He did return, there was a new Vote pafof the Houses. fed by Name against Him, and Two or Three more, by which He was exempted from Pardon in any Ac-

commodation that should be made between the King and Parliament.

MR. Hyde had been absent four or five Days from the Court; and came into the Presence when the King was washing his Hands before Dinner; and as foon as the King faw him, He asked him aloud, " Ned Hyde, when did you play with my Bandstrings last"? upon which He was exceedingly out of Countenance, not imagining the Cause of the Question, and the Room being full of Gentlemen, who appeared to be merry with what the King had asked. But his Majesty observing him to be in Disorder, and to blush very much, faid pleafantly, "be not troubled at it, for I have worn "no Bandstrings these twenty Years; and then asked him whether He had not seen the Diurnal: of which He had not heard till then, but, shortly after, some of the Standers-by shewed him a Diurnal, in which there was a Letter of Intelligence printed, where it was faid, that Ned Hyde was grown fo familiar with the King, that He used to play with bis Bandstrings. Which was a Method of calumniating They began then, and shortly after profecuted and exercised upon much greater Persons.

In the Afternoon the Earl of Holland came to deliver his Message with great Formality; whom the King received with much Coldness, and Manifestation of Neglect; and when the Earl approached, and kneeled to kis his Hand, He turned or withdrew his Hand in such a Manner, that the Earl kissed his own. When the Message was read, the King said little more, than that They should not stay long for an Answer; and so went to his Chamber. The Earl was not without many Friends there, and some of them moved the King, that He would give him Leave to say somewhat to him in Private, which They believed would be very much for his Service; but his Majesty would by no Means yield

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to it. By this Time his Majesty had Notice of the Governor's Irrefolution at Hull; and fo was glad of this Opportunity to have a fair Excuse for making no Attempt upon that Place. And fent the next Day for the Earl of Holland to receive his Anfwer; which being read aloud in the King's Prefence, and a full Room, by the Clerk of the Council, was very grateful to the Auditors, who feared fome Condescension in the King; though very mortifying to the Earl. For befides that it was thought very sharp towards the Houses, it declared his Brother the Earl of Warwick a Traitor, for poffelling himself of the King's Fleet against his Consent; and concluded, that He would forbear any Attempt upon Hull for fourteen Days; in which Time, if the Parliament would enter into a Treaty for a happy Peace, They should find him very well inclined to it; after the Expiration of that Time He fhould purfue those Ways which He thought fit. In the mean Time, He made a short Progress into the adjacent Counties of Nottingham and Leicester, to fee what Countenance They wore; and to encourage those, who appeared to have good Affections to his Service: And then returning to Beverley within the limited Time, and hearing no more from the Parliament, or any Thing from Hull that He expected, He returned again to York.

MR. Hyde was wont often to relate a Passage in that melancholick Time, when the Standard was fet up at Nottingbam, with which He was much affected. Sir Edmund Varney, Knight-Marshal, who was mentioned before as Standard Bearer, with (69) whom He had great Familiarity, who was a Man of great Courage, and generally beloved, came one His Conversa- Day to him and told him, "He was very glad to tion with Sir . fee Him, in so universal a Damp, under which "the Spirits of most Men were oppressed, retain

Varney.

" still his natural Vivacity and Cheerfulness; that He "knew "knew that the Condition of the King, and the "Power of the Parliament, was not better known " to any Man than to Him; and therefore He hoped "that He was able to administer some Comfort to "his Friends, that might raise Their Spirits, as well "as it supported his own." He answered, "that "He was in Truth beholden to his Constitution. "which did not incline him to Despair; otherwise, "that He had no pleasant Prospect before him, but "thought as ill of Affairs as most Men did; that "the Other was as far from being melancholick as "He, and was known to be a Man of great Cou-"rage (as indeed He was of a very cheerful and "a generous Nature, and confessedly Valiant) and that They could not do the King better Service, "than by making it their Business to raise the de-" jected Minds of Men; and root out those Appre-"hensions which disturbed them, of Fear and De-" fpair, which could do no Good, and did really " much Mischief."

HE replied smiling, "I will willingly join with "you the best I can, but I shall act it very scur-"vily. My Condition, faid He, is much worse than "yours, and different I believe from any other "Man's, and will very well justify the Melancho-"lick that, I confess to you, possesses me. You "have Satisfaction in your Conscience that you are "in the Right; that the King ought not to grant "what is required of him; and so you do your "Duty, and your Business together: But for my "Part, I do not like the Quarrel, and do hearti-"ly wish that the King would yield and consent to "what They defire; so that my Conscience is only "concerned in Honour and in Gratitude to fol-"low my Master. I have eaten his Bread, and " ferved him near thirty Years, and will not do fo " base a Thing, as to forsake him; and choose ra-"ther to lose my Life (which I am sure I shall do)

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"to preserve and defend those Things, which are " against my Conscience to preserve and defend. "For I will deal freely with you, I have no Re-"verence for the Bishops, for whom this Quarrel " subsists." It was not a Time to dispute; and his Affection to the Church had never been fufpected. He was as good as his Word; and was killed in the Battle of Edgebill, within two Months after this Discourse. And if those who had the fame and greater Obligations, had observed the fame Rules of Gratitude and Generolity, whatever their other Affections had been, that Battle had never been fought, nor any of that Mischief been

brought to pass, that succeeded it. AFTER the King came to Oxford with his Army,

his Majesty one Day speaking with the Lord Falkland very graciously concerning Mr. Hyde, said He had fuch a peculiar Style, that He could know any Thing written by him, if it were brought to him by a Stranger, amongst a Multitude of Writings by other Men. The Lord Falkland answered, He doubted his Majesty could hardly do that; because He himself, who had so long Conversation and Friendship with him, was often deceived; and often met with Things written by him, of which He could never have suspected him, upon the Variety of Arguments. To which the King replied, He would lay Him an Angel, that let the Argument be land concern- what it would, He should never bring him a Sheet Hyde's Style. of Paper (for He would not undertake to judge of less) of his Writing, but He would discover it to be his. The Lord Falkland told him it should be a Wager; but neither the one or the other ever mentioned it to Mr. Hyde. Some Days after, the (70) Lord Falkland brought feveral Packets, which He had then received from London, to the King, before He had opened them, as He used to do: And after He had read his feveral Letters of Intelligence, He took

The King's Wager with Lord Falktook out the Prints of Diurnals and Speeches, and the like, which were every Day printed at London, and as constantly fent to Oxford: And amongst the rest there were two Speeches, the one made by the Lord Pembroke for an Accommodation; and the other by the Lord Brooke against it, and for the carrying on the War with more Vigour, and utterly to root out the Cavaliers, which were the King's

Party.

THE King was very much pleased with reading the Speeches, and faid, He did not think that Pembroke could speak so long together; though every Word He faid was fo much his own, that no Body else could make it. And so after He had pleased Himself with reading the Speeches over again, and then paffed to other Papers, the Lord Falkland whispered in his Ear (for there were other Persons by) defiring him He would pay him the Angel; which his Majesty in the Instant apprehending, blushed, and put his Hand in his Pocket, and gave him an Angel, faying, He had never paid a Wager more willingly: And was very merry upon it, and would often call upon Mr. Hyde for a Speech, or a Letter, which He very often prepared upon feveral Occasions; and the King always commanded them to be printed. And He was often wont to Mr. Hyde fay many Years after, that He would be very glad laments the Lofs of He could make a Collection of all those Papers, many of his which He had written occasionally at that Time; occasional writings. which He could never do, though He got many of them.

THERE was at that Time a pleafant Story upon those Speeches. The Lord Brooke had met with A Dispute caused by one them in print; and heard that He was much re-them. proached for fo Unchristian a Speech against Peace; though the Language was fuch as He used in all Opportunities: Whereupon one Morning in the House of Peers, and before the House sate, He

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came to the Earl of Portland (who yet remained there with the King's Approbation, and knew well enough from whence the Speeches came, having himself caused them to be printed) and shewing them to him, defired He would move the House, that that Speech might, by their Order, be burned by the Hand of the Hangman; by which Means the Kingdom would be informed, that it had never been spoken by him. The Earl said He would willingly do him the Service; but He observed that the Speeches were printed in that Manner, that where the Earl of Pembroke's Speech ended on the one Side of the Leaf, His (the Lord Brooke's) Speech began on the other Side, fo that one could not be burned, without burning the other too; which He knew not how the Earl of Pembroke would like; and therefore He durst not move it without his Consent. Whereupon They both went to the Earl, who was then likewise in the House, and Portland told him what the Lord Brooke defired, and afked him whether He wished it should be done. who heard He was very well spoken of, for having spoke so honestly for Peace, said, He did not desire it. Upon which Brooke in great Anger, asked if He had ever made that Speech; He was very fure He had never made the other: And the Other with equal Choler replied, that He was always for Peace; and though He could not fay He had spoken all those Things together, He was sure He had spoken them all at feveral Times; and that He knew as well, that He had always been against Peace, and had often used all those Expressions which were in the Speech, though it may be not all together. Upon which They entered into a high Combat of (71) reproachful Words against each other, to the no small Delight of the Earl, who had brought them together, and of the rest of the Standers-by.

THE King was no fooner fettled in his Winter Quarters, after his Retreat from Brentford to Oxford, but the Parliament sent to him for a Safe-Conduct, for Commissioners to be sent from them to treat of Peace; which was fent to them. And at this Time there was a Change in Mr. Hyde's Fortune, by a Preferment the King conferred upon him. Every Body knew that He was trusted by the King in his most fecret Transactions; but He was under no Character in his Service. When the Commissioners who were fent for the Safe-Conduct came to Oxford, some who came in their Company, amongst other Matters of Intelligence brought the King a Letter of his own to the Queen, printed, that had been intercepted and printed by the License, if not Order, of the Parliament. In this Letter, of the fafe Conveyance whereof his Majesty had no Apprehension, the King had lamented the Uneafiness of his own Condition, in respect of the daily Importunity which was made to him by the Lords and others, for Honours, Offices, and Preferments; and named feveral Lords, who were folicitous by themselves, or their Friends, for this, and that Place; in all which He defired to receive the Queen's Advice, being refolved to do Nothing with Reference to those Pretences, till He should receive it. But He faid there were fome Places, which He must dispose of without staying for her Answer, the Necessity of his Service requiring it; which were the Mastership of the Wards; Application being still made to the Lord Say in those Affairs, and fo that Revenue was diverted from him: And therefore as He had revoked his Patent, fo He was refolved to make Secretary Nicholas Master of the Wards, and then (these were his Majesty's own Words) I must make Ned Hyde Secretary of State, for the Truth is, I can trust no Body elfe. Which was a very envious Expression, and extended by

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by the ill Interpretation of some Men, to a more general Comprehension than could be intended. This was quickly made Publick, for there were several Prints of it in many Hands; and some Men had Reason to be troubled to find their Names mentioned in that Manner, and others were glad that theirs were there, as having the Pretence to pursue their Importunities the more vehemently, being, as the Phrase was, brought upon the Stage, and should suffer much in their Honour if They should be now rejected; which Kind of Argumentation was very unagreeable and grievous to the King.

Mr. Hyde declines the Office of Secretary of State,

ONE Morning, when the King was walking in the Garden, as He used to do, Mr. Hyde being then in his View, his Majesty called him, and difcoursed of the Trouble He was in at the intercepting that Letter; and finding by his Countenance that He understood not the Meaning, He asked him, "whether He had not heard a Letter of his "which He writ to the Queen, had been inter-... "cepted and printed." And He answering, that "He had not heard of it," as in Truth He had not; the King gave him the printed Letter to read, and then faid, that "He wished it were as much " in his Power to make every Body elfe Amends, as "He could Him; for, He said, He was resolved "that Afternoon to swear him Secretary of State, " in the Place of Nicholas; whom He would like-"wife then make Master of the Wards." Mr. Hyde told him, "He was indeed much furprifed with the "Sight of the Letter; which He wished had not " been communicated in that Manner: But that He " was much more furprised to find his own Name "in it, and his Majesty's Resolution upon it, which "He befought him to change; for as He never (72) " had the Ambition to hope, or wish for that Place, " fo He knew He was very unfit for it, and unable

"to discharge it." To which the King with a little Anger replied, that "He did the greatest Part of "the Business now:" And He answered, that "what "He did now, would be no Part of the Bufinefs, if "the Rebellion were ended; and that his Unfkil-"fulness in Languages, and his not understanding "foreign Affairs, rendered him very incapable of "that Trust." The King said, "He would learn " as much as was necessary of that Kind very quick-"ly." He continued his Desire, that his Majesty would lay afide that Thought; and faid, "that He "had great Friendship for Secretary Nicholas, who "would be undone by the Change; for He would "find that his Majesty would receive very little, and "He Nothing, by that Office, till the Troubles "were composed." The King said, "Nicholas was "an honest Man, and that his Change was by his "Defire;" and bade him speak with him of it; which He went presently to do, leaving his Majefty unfatisfied with the Scruples He had made.

WHEN He came to the Secretary's Lodging, He found him with a cheerful Countenance, and embracing him, called him his Son. Mr. Hyde anfwered him, that "it was not the Part of a good "Son to undo his Father, or to become his Son that "He might undo him:" And fo They entered upon the Discourse; the one telling him what the King had resolved, and how grateful the Resolution was to him; and the Other informing him of the Conference He had then had with the King, and that for his Sake as well as his own, He would not fubmit to the King's Pleasure in it. And so He debated the whole Matter with him; and made it evident to him, that He would be disappointed in any Expectation He should entertain of Profit from the Wards, as the State of Affairs then stood: So that He should relinquish an honourable Employment, which He was well acquainted with, for an empty Title with which

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which He would have Nothing to do: And fo advised him to consider well of it, and of all the Confequences of it, before He exposed himself to such an Inconvenience.

WHILST this was in Sufpense, Sir Charles Casar, who with great Prejudice to the King, and more Reproach to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Laud, had been made Mafter of the Rolls, died: And Sir John Colepepper had long had a Promise from the King of that Place, when it should become void, and now preffed the Performance of it: Which was violently opposed by Many, partly out of ill Will to him (for He had not the Faculty of getting himself much loved) and as much out of good Hufbandry, and to supply the King's Necessities with a good Sum of Money, which Dr. Duck was ready to lay down for the Office. And the King was fo far wrought upon, that He paid down three thousand Pounds in Part of what He was to give; but his Majesty caused the Money to be repaid, and refolved to make good his Promife to Sir John Colepepper, who would by no means release him. This was no fooner declared, than the Lord Falkland I who was much more folicitous to have Mr. Hyde of the Council, than He was himself for the Honour) took an Opportunity to tell the King, that He had now a good Opportunity to prefer Mr. Hyde, by making him Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the Place of Sir John Colepepper; which the King faid, He had refolved to do, and bid him take no Notice of it, until He had told him so himself. And shortly after sent for him, and faid, "that He that of Chan- " had now found an Office for him, which He

But accepts Exchequer.

"hoped He would not refuse: That the Chancel-(73) "lorship of the Exchequer was void by the Promo-"tion of Colepepper; and that He refolved to confer "it upon him;" with many gracious Expressions of the Satisfaction He had in his Service. The other answered.

answered, "that though it was an Office much " above his Merit, yet He did not despair of en-" abling himself by Industry to execute it, which

"He would do with all Fidelity."

As foon as this was known, no Man was fo much troubled at it as Sir John Colepepper, who had in Truth an Intention to have kept both Places, until He should get into the quiet Possession of the Rolls. And though He professed much Friendship to the other. He had no Mind He should be upon the fame Level with him; and believed He would have too much Credit in the Council. And fo delayed. after his Patent for the Rolls was paffed, to furrender that of the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, until the Lord Falkland, and the Lord Digby expostulated very warmly with him upon it, and until the King took Notice of it; and then, feeming very much troubled that any Body should doubt the Integrity of his Friendship to Mr. Hyde, to whom He made all the Professions imaginable, He furrendered his Office of Chancellor of the Exchequer: And the next Day Mr. Hyde was fworn of the Privy- He is favorn Council, and Knighted, and had his Patents fealed Council and for that Office. And the King, after He role from Knighted. the Council, and after many Expressions of the Content He took himself in the Obligation He had laid upon him, with much Grace, that was not natural in him upon such Occasions, told him, that "He was very fortunate, because He verily believed "no Body was angry at his Preferment; for befides "that the Earl of Dorset and others, who He knew "loved him, had expressed much Satisfaction in the. "King's Purpose; He faid, the Lord Maltrevers, " and the Lord Dunsmore, who He did not think "had any Acquaintance with him, feemed very " much pleased with him; and therefore He thought "no Body would envy him; which was a rare Feli-"city." But his Majesty was therein mistaken; for

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He had great Enviers, of many who thought He had run too fast; especially of those of his own Profesfion, who looked upon themselves as his Superiours in all Respects, and did not think that his Age (which was not then above thirty three) or his other Parts, did entitle him to fuch a Preference before them. And the News of it at Westminster, exceedingly offended Those who governed in the Parliament; to fee the Man whom They most hated, and whom They had voted to be incapable of Pardon, to be now preferred to an Office the Chief of them looked for. Besides, there was another unusual Circumstance accompanied his Preferment, that it was without the Interpolition or Privity of the Queen, which was not like to make it the more easy, and advantageous; and it was not the more unwelcome

to him from that Circumstance.

NOTWITHSTANDING all the Discourse of, and Inclination to a Treaty, the Armies were not quiet on either Side. The King's Quarters were enlarged by the taking of Marlborough in Wiltshire, and of Cirencester in Glocestersbire; which though untenable by their Situation and weak Fortifications, were garrisoned by the Parliament with great Numbers of Men, who were all killed, or taken Prisoners. And the Parliament Forces were not without Success too; and after the Loss of Marlborough, furprised the Regiment of Horse, that was commanded by the Lord Grandison, a gallant Gentleman, who if not betrayed, was unhappily invited to Winchester, with Promise of Forces ready to defend the Place; which being in no Degree performed, He (74) was the next Day after He came, enclosed in the Castle of Winchester, and compelled to become, all, Officers and Soldiers, Prisoners of War: Though He and some other of the principal Officers, by the Negligence or Corruption of their Guard, made their

Part II. EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON.

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their Escape in the Night, and returned to Oxford.

This was the State of the Kingdom, of the King, and of the Parliament, in the Beginning of the Year 1643, at the Time when Mr. Hyde was made of the Privy Council, and Chancellor of the Exchequer: Which was between the Return of the Commissioners, who had been sent to the King to propose a Treaty, and the coming of those Commissioners to Oxford, who were afterwards sent from the Parliament to treat with the King; which being about the End of the Year 1642, this Part shall be closed here.

Pezenas, the 24th of July, 1669.



Land. Novamber and Alleria the least the region of the first state of the state of t offer to see and the foreign will take a large a King, and of the Pathagana, it is in the world and the land of the source of The secretary to the property of the secretary states Serve Transaction of the Asily and the support the state of the s ment and a locality of a poster order samples of Attorneously. Both to the property of all the second in the collection. · Since our emercial

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The LIFE of

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON

From his Birth to the Restoration of the ROYAL FAMILY in the Year 1660.

PART the THIRD.

by that Account was about the End of the Year 1642, and about the Beginning of the Year 1643) that the Commissioners of the Parliament came to Oxford, to treat with his Majesty; and were received graciously by him; and by his Order lodged conveniently, and well accommodated in all Respects.

The Parliament had bound up their Commissioners to the strictest Letter of their Propositions; nor did their Instructions at this Time (which They presented to the King) admit the least Latitude to them to interpret a Word or Expression, that admitted a doubtful Interpretation. Insomuch as the King told them, "that He was forry that They had "no more Trust reposed in them; and that the "Parliament might as well have sent their Demands "to him by the common Carrier, as by Commissioners so restrained." They had only twenty Days allowed them to finish the whole Treaty; whereof They might employ six Days in adjusting

a Ceffation, if They found it probable to effect it in that Time: Otherwise They were to decline the Cessation, and enter upon the Conditions of the Peace: which if not concluded before the End of the twenty Days, They were to give it over, and to return to the Parliament.

THESE Propositions and Restrictions much abated the Hopes of a good Issue of the Treaty. Yet every Body believed, and the Commissioners themfelves did not doubt, that if fuch a Progress should be made in the Treaty, that a Peace was like to enfue, there would be no Difficulty in the Enlargement of the Time: And therefore the Articles for a Ceffation were the fooner declined, that They might proceed in the main Business. For though what was proposed by them in Order to it, was agreeable enough to the Nature of fuch an Affair; yet the Time allowed for it was fo short, that it was imposfible to make it practicable; nor could Notice be timely given to all the Quarters on either Side to observe it.

Besides that, there were many Particulars in it, which the Officers on the King's Side (who had no Mind to a Ceffation) formalized much upon: And (I know not from what unhappy Root, but) there (76) was forung up a wonderful Aversion in the Town against a Ceffation. Infomuch as many Persons of Quality of feveral Counties, whereof the Town was full, applied themselves in a Body to the King, not to consent to a Cessation, till a Peace might be concluded; alleging, that They had feveral Agitations in their Countries, for his Majesty's and their own Conveniencies, which would be interrupted by the Ceffation; and if a Peace should not afterwards enfue, would be very mischievous. Which Suggestion, if it had been well weighed, would not have been found to be of Importance. But the Truth is, the King himself had no Mind to the Cessation,

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for a Reason which shall be mentioned anon, though it was never owned: And so They waved all farther. Mention of the Cessation, and betook themselves to the Treaty; it being reasonable enough to believe, that if both Sides were heartily disposed to it, a Peace might as soon have been agreed upon, as a Cessation could be. All the Transactions of that Treaty having been long since published, and being sit only to be digested into the History of that Time, are to be omitted here. Only what passed in Secret, and was never communicated, nor The Secret can otherwise be known, since at this Time, no Transactions in the Treaty Man else is living who was privy to that Negocia- of Oxford, tion, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer, will have a proper Place in this Discourse.

The Propositions brought by the Commissioners in the Treaty were so unreasonable, that They well knew that the King would never consent to them: But some Persons amongst them, who were known to wish well to the King, endeavoured underhand to bring it to pass. And They did therefore, whist They publickly pursued their Instructions, and delivered and received Papers upon their Propositions, privately use all the Means They could, especially in Conferences with the Lord Falkland and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the King might be prevailed with, in some Degree to comply with their unreasonable Demands.

In all Matters which related to the Church, They did not only despair of the King's Concurrence, but did not in their own Judgments wish it; and believed, that the Strength of the Party which desired the Continuance of the War, was made up of those, who were very indifferent in that Point; and that, if They might return with Satisfaction in other Particulars, They should have Power enough in the two Houses, to oblige the more violent People to accept, or submit to the Conditions. They wished

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Mr. Pierrepoint's Proposition, therefore that the King would make fome Condefcensions in the Point of the Militia; which They looked upon as the only fubftantial Security They could have, not to be called in Question for what They had done amis. And when They saw Nothing could be digested of that Kind, which would not reflect both upon the King's Authority, and his Honour, They gave over infifting upon the General: And then Mr. Pierrepoint (who was of the best Parts, and most intimate with the Earl of Northumbertand) rather defired than proposed, that the King would offer to grant his Commission to the Earl of Northumberland, to be Lord High Admiral of England. By which Condescension He would be restored to his Office, which He had loft for their Sakes; and so their Honour would be likewise repaired, without any fignal Prejudice to the King; fince He should hold it only by his Majesty's Commission, and not by any Ordinance of Parliament; and He faid, if the King would be induced to gratify them in this Particular, He could not be confident, that They should be able to prevail with both Houses to be fatisfied therewith, fo that a Peace might fuddenly be concluded; but as He did not despair even of that, He did believe, that so many would be sa-(77) tisfied with it, that They would from thence take the Occasion to separate themselves from them, as Men who would rather destroy their Country, than restore it to Peace.

AND the Earl of Northumberland himself took so much Notice of this Discourse to Secretary Nicholas (with whom He had as much Freedom, as his reserved Nature was capable of) as to protest to him, that He desired only to receive that Honour and Trust from the King, that He might be able to do him Service; and thereby to recover the Credit He had unhappily lost with him. In which He used very decent Expressions towards his Majesty; not

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without fuch Reflections upon his own Behaviour, as implied that He was not proud of it; and concluded, that if his Majesty would do him that Honour, as to make that Offer to the Houses, upon the Proposition of the Militia, He would do all He could that it might be effectual towards a Peace: and if it had not Success, He would pass his Word and Honour to the King, that as foon, or whenfoever his Majesty would please to require it, He would deliver up his Commission again into his Hands; He having no other Ambition, or Defire. than by this Means to re-deliver up the Royal Navy to his Majesty's as absolute Disposal, as it was, when his Majesty first put it into his Hands; and which He doubted would hardly be done by any other Expedient, at least not so soon.

WHEN this Proposition (which from the Interest. and Persons who proposed it, seemed to carry with it some Probability of Success, if it should be accepted) was communicated with those who were like with most Secrecy to consult it; Secretary Nicholas having already made fome Approach towards the King upon the Subject, and found his Majesty without Inclination to hear more of it; it was agreed and refolved by them, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should presume to make the Proposition plainly to the King, and to persuade his Majesty to hear it debated in his Presence; at least, if that might not be, to enlarge upon it himself, as much as the Argument required: And He was not un-

willing to embark himself in the Affair.

WHEN He found a fit Opportunity for the Re- Which the presentation, and his Majesty at good Leisure, in Chancellar of the Exchequer his Morning's Walk, when He was always most advises the willing to be entertained, the Chancellor related in- King to comgenuously to him the whole Discourse, which had been made by Mr. Pierrepoint, and to whom; and what the Earl himself had said to Secretary Ni-

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cholas; and what Conference They, to whom his Majesty gave Leave to consult together upon his Affairs, had between themselves upon the Argument, and what occurred to them upon it: In which He mentioned the Earl's Demerit towards his Majesty with Severity enough, and what Reason He had not to be willing to restore a Man to his Favour, who had forfeited it so unworthily. Yet He defired him to confider his own ill Condition; and how unlike it was, that it should be improved by the Continuance of the War; and whether He could ever imagine a Possibility of getting out of it upon more easy Conditions, than what was now propofed; the Offer of which to the Parliament could do him no fignal Prejudice, and could not but bring him very notable Advantages: For if the Peace did not enfue upon it, fuch a Rupture infallibly would, as might in a little Time facilitate the other. And then He faid as much to lessen the Malignity of the Earl as He could, by remembring, how dutifully He had refigned his Commission of Admiral, upon his Majesty's Demand; and his Refusal to accept the Commission the Parliament would have given him: And observed some Vices in his Nature, which would stand in the Place of Virtues, towards the Support (78) of his Fidelity to his Majesty, and his Animosity against the Parliament; if He were once re-ingratiated to his Majesty's Trust.

THE King heard him very quietly without the least Interruption, which He used not to do upon Subjects which were not grateful to him, for He knew well, that He was not swayed by any Affection to the Man; to whom He was more a Stranger, than He was to most of that Condition: And He upon Occasions, had often made sharp Resections upon his Ingratitude to the King. His Majesty seemed at the first to insist upon the Improbability, that any such Concession by him would be attend-

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ed with any Success; that not only the Earl had not Interest in the Houses to lead them into a Resolution, that was only for his particular Benefit; but that the Parliament itself was not able to make a Peace, without fuch Conditions, as the Army would require: And then He should suffer exceedingly in his Honour, for having shewn an Inclination to a Person, who had requited his former Graces so unworthily: And this led him into more Warmth. than He used to be affected with. He said, "in- The King's "deed He had been very unfortunate in conferring Answer. "his Favours upon many very ungrateful Persons; "but no Man was fo inexcufable as the Earl of "Northumberland." He faid, "He knew that the "Earl of Holland was generally looked upon as the "Man of the greatest Ingratitude; but (He said) "He could better excuse Him than the other: That "it was true, He owed all He had to his Father's, "and his Bounties; and that himself had conferred "great Favours upon him; but that it was as true, "He had frequently given him many Mortifica-"tions, which though He had deferved, He knew "had troubled him very much; that He had often-"er denied him, than any other Man of his Condi-"tion; and that He had but lately refused to gra-"tify him in a Suit He had made to him, of which "He had been very confident; and fo might have "fome Excuse (how ill soever) for being out of "Humour, which led him from one Ill to another: "But that He had lived always without Intermif-" fion with the Earl of Northumberland as his Friend, "and courted him as his Mistress; that He had "never denied any Thing He had ever asked, and "therefore his Carriage to him was never to be for-" gotten."

AND this Discourse He continued with more Commotion, and in a more pathetical Style, than ever He used upon any other Argument. though

though at that Time it was not fit to press the Matter farther, it was afterwards refumed by the same Person more than once; but without any other Effect, than that his Majesty was contented, that the Earl should not despair of being restored to that Office, when the Peace should be made; or upon any eminent Service performed by him, when the Peace should be despaired of. The King was very willing and defirous that the Treaty should be drawn out in Length; to which Purpose a Proposition was made to the Commissioners for an Addition of Ten Days, which They fent to the Parliament, without the leaft Apprehension that it would be denied. But They were deceived; and for Answer received an Order upon the last Day but one of the Time before limited, by which They were expresly required to leave Oxford the next Day. From that Time, all Intercourse and Commerce between Oxford and London, which had been permitted before, was absolutely interdicted under the highest Penalties by the Parliament.

IF this fecret underhand Proposition had succeeded, and received that Encouragement from the King, that was defired; and more Application of the same Remedies had been then made to other (79) Persons (for alone it could never have proved effectual) it is probable that those violent and abominable Counsels, which were but then in Projection between very few Men of any Interest, and which were afterwards miferably put in Practice, had been prevented. And it was exceedingly wondered at, by those who were then privy to this Overture, and by all who afterwards came to hear of it, that the King should in that Conjuncture decline fo advantageous a Proposition; since He did already differn many ill Humours and Factions, growing and nourished, both in his Court and Army, which would every Day be uneafy to him; and

did with all his Soul desire an End of the War. And there was Nothing more suitable and agreeable to his magnanimous Nature, than to forgive those who had in the highest Degree offended him: Which Temper was notorious throughout his whole Life. It will not be therefore amiss in this Discourse, to enlarge upon this fatal Rejection, and the true Cause and Ground thereof.

THE King's Affection to the Queen was of a very The true extraordinary Alloy; a Composition of Conscience, Cause of the and Love, and Generosity, and Gratitude, and all ing it. those noble Affections, which raise the Passion to the greatest Height; insomuch as He saw with her Eyes; and determined by her Judgment. And did not only pay her this Adoration, but defired that all Men should know that He was swayed by her; which was not good for either of them. Queen was a Lady of great Beauty, excellent Wit and Humour, and made him a just Return of noblest Affections; fo that They were the true Idea of conjugal Affection, in the Age in which They lived. When She was admitted to the Knowledge and Participation of the most secret Affairs (from which She had been carefully restrained by the Duke of Buckingbam, whilft He lived) She took Delight in the examining and discussing them, and from thence in making Judgment of them; in which, her Passions were always strong.

SHE had felt so much Pain in knowing Nothing, and meddling with Nothing, during the Time of that great Favourite, that now She took Pleasure in Nothing but knowing all Things, and disposing all Things: And thought it but just, that She should dispose of all Favours and Preferments, as He had done; at least, that Nothing of that Kind might be done, without her Privity: Not considering, that the universal Prejudice that great Man had undergone, was not with Reference to his Person, but his Pow-

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er; and that the fame Power would be equally obnoxious to Murmur and Complaint, if it refided in any other Person, than the King himself. And She fo far concurred with the King's Inclination, that She did not more defire to be possessed of this unlimited Power, than that all the World should take Notice, that She was the entire Mistress of it: Which in Truth (what other unhappy Circumstances soever concurred in the Mischief) was the Foundation upon which, the first, and the utmost Prejudices to the King and his Government, were raifed, and profecuted. And it was her Majesty's, and the Kingdom's Misfortune, that She had not any Person about her who had either Ability, or Affection, to inform and advise her, of the Temper of the Kingdom, or Humour of the People; or who thought either worth the caring for.

WHEN the Disturbances grew fo rude, as to interrupt this Harmony; and the Queen's Fears, and Indisposition, which proceeded from those Fears, disposed her to leave the Kingdom, which the King to comply with her, confented to (and if that Fear had not been predominant in her, her Jealoufy, and Apprehension that the King would, at some Time, be prevailed with to yield to some unreasonable Con-(80) ditions, would have diffuaded her from that Voyage); to make all Things therefore as fure as might be, that her Absence should not be attended with any fuch Inconvenience, his Majesty made a solemn Promife to her at parting, that He would receive no Person into any Favour or Trust, who had differved him, without her Privity and Confent; and that, as She had undergone fo many Reproaches and Calumnies at the Entrance into the War, fo He would never make any Peace, but by her Interpolition and Mediation, that the Kingdom might receive that Bleffing only from her.

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THIS Promise (of which his Majesty was too religious an Observer) was the Cause of his Majesty's Rejection, or not entertaining this last Overture. And this was the Reason that He had that Aversion to the Ceffation, which He thought would inevitably oblige him to consent to the Peace, as it should be proposed; and therefore He had countenanced an Address, that had been made to him against it, by the Gentlemen of feveral Counties attending the Court: And in Truth They were put upon that Address by the King's own private Direction. Upon which the Chancellor of the Exchequer told him, when the Business was over, that He had raised a Spirit He would not be able to conjure down: And that those Petitioners had now appeared in a Bufiness that pleased him, but would be as ready to appear at another Time, to cross what He defired; which proved True. For He was afterwards more troubled with Application and Importunity of that Kind, and the Murmurs that arose from that Liberty, when all Men would be Counfellors, and censure all that the Council did, than with the Power of the Enemy.

ABOUT the Time that the Treaty began, the Queen landed in the North: And She refolved with a good Quantity of Ammunition and Arms, to make what Haste She could to the King; having at her first landing, expressed by a Letter to his Majesty, her Apprehension of an ill Peace by that Treaty; and declared, that She would never live in England, if She might not have a Guard for the Security of her Person: Which Letter came accidentally afterwards into the Hands of the Parliament, of which They made Use to the Queen's Disadvantage. And the Expectation of her Majefty's Arrival at Oxford, was the Reason that the King so much defired the Prolongation of the Treaty. And if it had pleafed God that She had come thither Time enough,

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enough, as She did shortly after, She would have probably condescended to many Propositions for the gratifying particular Persons, as appeared afterwards, if thereby a reasonable Peace might have been obtained.

WHEN the Scotish Commissioners attended the King at Oxford, and defired his Leave, that there might be a Parliament called in Scotland, which his Majesty denied them (well knowing, that They would, against all the Protestations and Oaths They had made to him, at his being in that Country, join with those at Westminster) They presented a present to the long Paper to the King, containing a bitter Invective against Bishops, and the whole Government of the Church; as being contrary to the Word of God, and to the Advancement of true Religion: And concluded with a very passionate Desire for the Alteration of that Government, as the only Means to fettle Peace throughout his Majesty's Dominions. In all their other Demands, concerning the Kingdom of Scotland, and calling a Parliament there, the King had only conferred with two or three of those He most trusted, whereof the Chancellor of the Exchequer was always one, and drew the Answers He gave: But this last Paper which only concerned England, He brought to the Council Board, and (81) required their Advice, what Answer He should give to it. The King himself was very desirous to take this Occasion, to shew his Affection and Zeal for the Church; and that other Men's Mouths might be hereafter stopped in that Argument, and that no Body might ever make the fame Proposition to him again, He had a great Mind to have made an Answer to every Expression in their Paper; and to have fet out the Divine Right of Episcopacy; and how impossible it was ever for him in Conscience to confent to any Thing, to the Prejudice of that Order and Function, or to the alienating their Lands:

The Scotish Commiffioners King their Request for the Abolition of Episcopacy.

Enlarging himself more in the Debate, than He used to do upon any other Argument; mentioning those Reasons which the ablest Prelate could do upon that Occasion; and wished that all those, and fuch others as might occur, should be contained in his Answer.

Many of the Lords were of Opinion, that a short Answer would be best, that should contain Nothing but a Rejection of the Proposition, without giving any Reason: No Man feeming to concur with his Majesty; with which He was not satisfied, and replied with some Sharpness upon what had been said. Upon which the Lord Falkland replied, having been before of that Mind, defiring that no Reasons might be given; and upon that Occasion answered many of those Reasons the King had urged, as not valid to support the Subject, with a little Quickness of Wit (as his Notions were always sharp, and expressed with notable Vivacity) which made the King warmer than He used to be; reproaching all who were of that Mind, with Want of Affection for the Church; and declaring that He would have the Substance of what He had faid, or of the like Nature, digested into his Answer; with which Reprehenfion All fat very filent, having never undergone the like before. Whereupon the King recollecting The King himself, and observing that the Chancellor of the calls upon the Exchequer had not yet fpoke, called upon him to the Exchequer deliver his Opinion, adding, that He was fure He to deliver bis Opinion therewas of his Majesty's Mind, with Reference to Reli- on. gion and the Church.

THE Chancellor Rood up, and faid, that He would have been glad to have faid Nothing that Day, having observed more Warmth than had ever been at that Board, fince He had the Honour to fit there (which was not many Days before); that in Truth He was not of the Opinion of any one who had spoken; He did not think that the Answer

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ought to be very short, or without any Reasons; and He did as little think, that the Reasons mentioned by his Majesty, ought to be applied to the Paper, which the Scots had been so bold as to prefent to the King. He faid, all those Reasons were fit to be offered in a Synod, or in any other Place, where that Subject could be lawfully ventilated; and He believed them all to be of that Weight, that Mr. Hender son and all his Assembly of Divines could never answer; but He should be very forry that his Majesty should so far condescend to their Prefumption, as to give those Reasons; as if He admitted the Matter to be disputed. He asked his Majesty, what Answer He would give to the King of France, if He should fend to him, to alter the Government of the City of London, or any other City, and that He would substitute other Magistrates in the Place of those, who are; which, as a King, He might more reasonably demand, than these Gentlemen of Scotland could do what They propose; whether his Majesty would think it more agreeable to his Honour, to make a reasonable Discourse of the Antiquity of the Lord Mayor of London, and of the Dependance the present Magistrates had upon the Law, and the Frame of the Government; or whether, He would only fend him Word, that He (82) should meddle with what He had to do. He did think, that it was very fit that his Majesty's Answer to this Paper should contain a very severe, and sharp Reprehension for their Presumption; and take Notice, how folicitous They were for the Preservation of what They called the Right and Privilege of their Country, that his Majesty might not bring any Thing into Debate at his Council Board here, that concerned the Kingdom of Scotland, though it had often too much Relation to the Affairs and Government of England; yet that They would take upon them to demand from his Majesty, at least to advise

advise him to make, an Alteration in the Government of England, which would quite alter the Frame of it, and make fuch a Confusion in the Laws; which They could no more comprehend, than They could any of the same Kind, that related to any other foreign Kingdom; and therefore, that for the Future They should not practise the like Presum-

ption.

THE King discovered himself to be very well With which pleased, all the Time He was speaking; and when well satisfied. He had done, his Majesty said again, He was sure the Chancellor was entirely of his Mind, with Reference to the Church; and that He had farisfied him, that this was not the Seafon, nor the Occafion, in which those Arguments, which He had used, were to be insisted on; and that He was willing to depart from his own Sense; and was in Truth fo well pleased, that He vouchsafed to make some kind of Excuse for the Passion He had spoken with; and all the Lords were very well fatisfied with the Expedient proposed; and all commended the Chancellor: And the Answer was given to the Scotish Commissioners accordingly: Who had too good Intelligence not to know all that had passed; and upon their long Discourses with the King (who was always forward to enlarge upon that Subject, in which He was fo well versed) expected such an Anfwer as might give them Opportunity to bring the whole Matter of Episcopacy upon the Stage, and into publick Disputation. And so They returned to London, with manifest Dissatisfaction, before the Commissioners of the Parliament; and with avowed Detestation of a Person, against whom They were known always to have an inveterate, and an implacable Displeasure.

THE King was much troubled at the Difunion between the Princes Rupert, and Maurice, and the Marquis of Hertford, after the taking of Bristol; which Vol. I.

He knew must exceedingly disorder and divide that Army: For composing whereof, his Majesty resolved the next Day after the News, to go himself to Bristol; which was very necessary in many Respects. The Settlement of the Port, which was of infinite -Importance to the King in Point of Trade, and his Customs, with Reference to Ireland; and the applying the Army to some new Enterprize, without Loss of Time, could not be done without his But there was Nothing more Majesty's Presence. disposed his Majesty to that Resolution, than to be absent from his Council at Oxford, when He should fettle the Differences between the Princes, and the Marquis; for as He was always fwayed by his Affection to his Nephews, which He did not think Partiality; fo the Lords, towards whom the Princes did not live with any Condescension, were very solicitous, that the Marquis might receive no Injuftice, or Disobligation. And the King, to avoid all Counsel in this Particular, resolved to declare no Resolution, till He should come himself to Bristol; and so went from Oxford thither; taking with him, of the Council, the Duke of Richmond, the Lord Falkland, the Master of the Rolls, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer: The King lodging the (83) first Night at Malmsbury; and the Lord Falkland, the Master of the Rolls, and some other Gentlemen lodging that Night with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, at his House at Pirton, which lay in the Way to Briftol; where They were the next Day within an Hour after the King.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer's Office invaded by Mr. Afhburnham.

THE Chancellor of the Exchequer had undergone fome Mortification, during the short Abode at Bristol, which was the only Port of Trade within the King's Quarters, which was like to yield a confiderable Benefit to the King, if it were well managed; and the Direction thereof belonged entirely to his Office; but when He fent to the Officers of the

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Customs, to be informed of the present State of Trade, He found that fome Treaty was made, and Order given in it by Mr. Albburnham, a Groom of the Bedcamber; who, with the Affistance and Advice of Sir John Colepepper, had prevailed with the King, to assign that Province to him, as a Means to raise a present Sum of Money for the Supply of the Army: Which the Chancellor took very heavily, and the Lord Falkland out of his Friendship to him, more tenderly; and expostulated it with the King with fome Warmth; and more paffionately with Sir John Colepepper and Mr. Albburnham as a Violation of the Friendship They professed to the Chancellor, and an Invasion of his Office; which no Man bears eafily.

THEY were both ashamed of it, and made some weak Excuses of Incogitance and Inadvertence; and the King himself, who discerned the Mischief that would enfue, if there should be an apparent Schism amongst those He so entirely trusted, was pleased to take Notice of it to the Chancellor, with The King in-

many gracious Expressions; and said, "that Mr. terposes there-" Albburnham being Treasurer and Paymaster of the "Army, He did believe some Money might have " been raised for the present Occasion; and only in-"tended it for the present, without considering it "would be an Invasion of his Right; and therefore "directed, that an Account should be given to him "of all that had been done, and He should do as "He thought fit." But when He understood all that had been done. He would make no Alteration in it, that his Majesty might be convident that his Service was not looked after in that Defignt. And it' was discernable enough, that Mr. Ashburnham, who ufually looked very far before him, had not fo much intended to disoblige the Chancellor, as by introducing himself this Way into the Customs, to continue one of the Farmers of the Customs, when the

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War should be at an End; of which He got a Promise from the King at the same Time; who had great Affection for him, and an extraordinary Opinion of his Managery. If there remained after this any Jealoufy or Coldness between the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the other Two, as the Difparity between their Natures and Humours made some believe there did, it never brake out or appeared, to the Diffurbance, or Prejudice of the King's Service; but all possible Concurrence in the

carrying it on was observed between them.

THE March of the Earl of Effex from London to Glocester, over as large a Campania as any in England, when the King had an Army of above eight thousand Horse, reputed victorious, without being put to strike one Stroke - the Circumstances of that Siege; and the raising it - the Earl's March, after He had performed that great Work; and when the King's Army watched only to engage him in a Battle; and passing over a large and open Campania, three Days before the King had Notice that He was come out of Glocester - the overtaking the Army; and the Battle by Newbury - and his Retreat afterwards to London; contained fo many particular Actions of Courage and Conduct, that They all (84) deserve a very punctual and just Relation; and are much above the Level of this plain and foreign Discourse. In this Battle of Newbury, the Chancellor of the

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Exchequer lost the Joy and Comfort of his Life; which He lamented fo passionately, that He could not in many Days compose himself to any Thoughts of Business. His dear Friend the Lord Falkland, The Death of hurried by his Fate, in the Morning of the Battle, as He was naturally inquisitive after Danger, put himself into the Head of Sir John Byron's Regiment, which He believed was like to be in the hottest Service, and was then appointed to charge a Body of Foot:

the Lord Falkland. Foot; and in that Charge was shot with a Musket Bullet, so that He fell dead from his Horse. The fame Day that the News came to Oxford of his Death, which was the next after He was killed, the Chancellor received a Letter from him, written at the Time when the Army rose from Glocester; but the Messenger had been employed in other Service, fo that He came not to Oxford till that Day. The Letter was an Answer to one the Chancellor had then fent to him; in which He had told him, how much He fuffered in his Reputation with all discreet Men, by engaging himself unnecessarily in all Places of Danger: And that it was not the Office of a Privy Counsellor, and a Secretary of State, to visit the Trenches, as He usually did; and conjured him, out of the Conscience of his Duty to the King, and to free his Friends from those continual uneasy Apprehensions, not to engage his Person to those Dangers, which were not incumbent to him. His Anfwer was, that the Trenches were now at an End; there would be no more Danger there: That His Case was different from other Men's; that He was fo much taken Notice of for an impatient Desire of Peace, that it was necessary that He should likewise make it appear, that it was not out of Fear of the utmost Hazard of War: He said some melancholick Things of the Time; and concluded, that in few Days They should come to a Battle, the Issue whereof, He hoped, would put an End to the Mifery of the Kingdom.

Much hath been faid of this excellent Person before; but not so much, or so well, as his wonderful Parts and Virtues deserved. He died as much of the Time as of the Bullet: For from the very beginning of the War, He contracted so deep a Sadness and Melancholy, that his Life was not pleasant to him; and sure He was too weary of it. Those who did not know him very well, imputed,

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very unjustly, much of it to a violent Passion He had for a Noble Lady: And it was the more spoken of, because She died the same Day, and as some computed it, in the fame Hour that He was killed; but They who knew either the Lord or the Lady, knew well, that neither of them was capable of an ill Imagination. She was of the most unspotted, unblemished Virtue, never married, of an extraordinary Talent of Mind, but of no alluring Beauty, nor of a Constitution of tolerable Health, being in a deep Confumption, and not like to have lived fo long by many Months. It is very true, the Lord Falkland had an extraordinary Esteem of her, and exceedingly loved her Conversation, as most of the Persons of eminent Parts of that Time did; for She was in her Understanding, and Discretion, and Wit, and Modesty, above most Women; the best of which had always a Friendship with her. But He was withal fo kind to his Wife, whom He knew to be an excellent Person, that, though He loved his Children with more Affection and Fondness than most Fathers use to do, He left by his Will all He had to his Wife; and committed his (85) three Sons, who were all the Children He had, to her fole Care and Bounty.

HE was little more than thirty Years of Age when He was killed; in which Time He was very accomplished in all those Parts of Learning and Knowledge, which most Men labour to attain, till They are very Old; and in Wisdom, and the Practice of Virtue, to a wonderful Perfection. From his Age of twenty Years, He had lived in an entire Friendship with the Chancellor, who was about fix Months elder; and who never spake of him afterwards, but with a Love, and a Grief, which still raised some Commotion in him. And He very often used to lament him, in the Words of Cicero concerning Hortenfius, Quod magna Sapientium & Ci-

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vium bonorum Penuria, Vir egregius, conjunctissimusque mecum Confiliorum omnium Societate, alienissimo Reipublica Tempore extinctus, & Auctoritatis, & Prudentia sue, trifte nobis Desiderium reliquerat. And without Doubt, it was in a Conjuncture of Time, when the Death of every honest and discreet Person was a very fensible and terrible Loss, in the Judgment of all good Men.

AFTER the unhappy Death of the Lord Falkland, the King much defired that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should be Secretary of State in his Place; which the Queen did not oppose, though She rather wished that the Lord Digby might have it; who had so much Kindness and Friendship for the Chancellor (which was at that Time, and long after, as fincere as could receive Harbour in his Breast) that He professed, He would not have it, if the other would receive it: But the Chancellor The Chancelgratified his Civility, and refused the Office, the se- lor of the Excond Time, as He had once before. And He had fufes the Offo much more Reason now, by the coming of a ve-fice of Scerery-specious Embassy from France, in the Person of a second Time. the Count of Harcourt, who was already arrived in London; in which the Chancellor knew his own Want of Ability, to act that Part, the Office of Secretary would have obliged him to; and for which, as fas as the Perfection of the French Tongue could qualify him, the Lord Digby was very proper; and fo He was made Secretary of State; professing to every Body, that as He had the Office by the Chancellor's Refusal of it, so He would wholly advise with him in all Things pertaining to it, which He always did; and the Confidence and Friendship between them was mutual, and very notorious, until that Lord changed his Religion. And He was no fooner admitted and fworn Secretary of State, and Privy-Counfellor, and confequently made of the Junto, which the King at that Time created, confifting

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fifting of the Duke of Richmond, the Lord Cottington, the two Secretaries of State, and Sir John Colepepper, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer was likewise added; to the Trouble, at least the Surprise, of the Master of the Rolls; who could have been contented, that He should have been excluded from that near Trust, where all Matters were to be consulted, before they should be brought to the Council Board. And this Committee was appointed to treat with the Count of Harcourt; whom the King believed to be sent from France, to demand any Thing from the Parliament in that King's Name, as his Majesty should direct; and therefore They

were appointed to confider well, what He should be

directed to propose.

But the Ambassadour no sooner came to the Town in great State and Lustre, but He quickly faved them any farther Labour, by declaring, that He would treat with no Body but the King himfelf; his Bufiness being only to serve the King, with Reference to the Differences between his Majesty and the Parliament; and pretended that in his short Stay at London, He had already discovered that his (86) Majesty was betrayed; and that his most secret Counfels were discovered: And so there was never any Communication between him and the King's Council; but all Matters were transacted with the King himself, and Queen, and Lord Fermyn, who was not of the Council, and the Lord Digby; the Queen promising herself very much from his Negotiation; the Ambassadour being then of great Reputation, having been General of the French Army in two or three great Actions, in which his Success had been very notable; and the Queen looked upon him as a Person particularly devoted to her Service; and being of the House of Lorraine (the younger Son of the Duke d' Elboeuf) He was not without fome Alliance to the King; and fo He returned to

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London with fuch Instructions, and Advice as They thought fit to entrust him with; which were too Particular; and with the Privity only of the two other Persons mentioned before.

But it quickly appeared after, that He was not fent with any Purpose to do the King Service; but that Cardinal Mazarin (who was newly entered upon the Ministry, after the Death of Cardinal Richelieu) might take such a View of the Affairs of England, as the better to judge what He was to do; and that an Accommodation there might not break his Measures, with Reference to his other Designs; which the Ambassadour was easily satisfied it was not like to do. And fo, after three or four Months fpent between Oxford and London, He returned to France; leaving the King's Affairs fo much worse than He found them, by having communicated fome Instructions, which had been given him at Oxford, with over much Confidence, and which less disposed some Persons to Peace than They had been, at London.

THE King called the Chancellor one Day to him, The King diand told him, "that He thought there was too Chancellor of much Honour done to those Rebels at Westminster the Exchequer "in all his Declarations, by his mentioning them as to prepare a "Part of the Parliament; which as long as They for difforming "fhould be thought to be, They would have more ment at West, "Authority by their continuing their Sitting in the minster. "Place, whither They were first called, than all the "other Members, though fo much more numerous, "would have, when They should be convened any "where else (there being a Thought of convening "them to Oxford); therefore He knew no Reason "why He should not positively declare them to be "diffolved; and fo forbid them to Sit or meet any "more there." He faid, "that He knew learned Men "of an Opinion, that that Act for the continuance of the Parliament was void from the Beginning;

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"and that it is not in the Power of the King to "bar himself from the Power of dissolving it; which " is to be deprived of an effential Part of his Sove-" reignty: But if the Act were good and valid in "Law, They had diffolved themselves, by their "Force, in driving fo many Members, and even "his Majesty himself, who was their Head, from "the Parliament; and had forfeited their Right of "Sitting there, and all that the Act had given "them, by their Treason and Rebellion; which the "very being a Parliament could not support: And "therefore He wished, that a Proclamation might "be prepared, to declare them actually diffolved; " and expresly forbidding them to meet, or any Bo dy to own them, or submit to them, as a Parlia-" ment."

His Advice to the King on that Subject.

THE Chancellor told him, that "He perceived "by his Majesty's Discourse, that He had very much " confidered the Argument, and was well-prepared "in it; which for his Part He was not. But He " befought him to think it worth a very strict Re-"flection; and to hear the Opinion of learned Men, " before He resolved upon it. That it was of a ve-(87) "ry nice and delicate Nature, at which not only "the People in general, but those of his own Par-"ty, and even of his Council, would take more "Umbrage, than upon any one Particular, that "had happened fince the Beginning of the War. "That He could not imagine that his forbidding them to meet any more at Westminster, would "make no Man the less to meet there; but He " might forbid them upon fuch Grounds and Rea-"fons, as might bring more to them: And that "They who had fevered themselves from them, up-" on the Guilt of their Actions, might return, and " be reconciled to them, upon their Unity of Opi-"nion. That it had been the first powerful Re-"proach They had corrupted the People with, toPart III. EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON.

"wards his Majesty, that He intended to dissolve "this Parliament, notwithstanding the Act for Con-"tinuance thereof; and if He had Power to do "that, He might likewise by the same Power, re-" peal all the other Acts made this Parliament; where-"of some were very precious to the People: And "as his Majesty had always disclaimed any such "Thought, so such a Proclamation as He now men-"tioned, would confirm all the Fears and Jealou-"fies, which had been infused into them; and "would trouble many of his own true Subjects." "THAT for the Invalidity of the Act from the "Beginning, He was in his own Opinion inclined "to hope, that it might be originally void, for the "Reasons and Grounds his Majesty had mentioned; " aud that the Parliament itself, if this Rebellion "was suppressed, might be of the same Judgment, "and declare it accordingly, which would enable "him quickly to dissolve it: But till then, He "thought all the Judges together, even those who "were in his own Quarters, and of unquestionable "Affection to his Majesty, would not declare any "fuch Invalidity; and much lefs, that any private "Man, how learned foever, would avow that Judg-"ment: In which his Majesty might easily satis-"fy himself, having so many of the Judges, and "many other excellent Men of the Robe then at "Oxford. For their having diffolved themselves, or "forfeited their Right of Sitting there, by their "Treason and Rebellion, He said, He could less " understand it, than the other Argument of Inva-"lidity: For that the Treason and Rebellion could "only concern, and be penal to the Persons who "committed them; it was possible many might Sit "there, He was fure many had a Right to Sit there, "who had always opposed every Illegal, and every "Rebellious Act; and therefore the Faults of the "others could never forfeit any Right of theirs,

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"who had committed no Fault. And upon the "whole Matter, concluded as He had begun, that "his Majesty would very throughly confult it, be-"fore He did fo much as incline in his own " Wishes."

His Majesty said, He had spoken more Reason against it, than He had thought could have been alleged: However, He bade him confer with his Attorney General, who, He believed, was of another Opinion. The Chancellor moved his Majesty, that fince the Ground of what should be resolved on in this Point must be expressed in the Proclamation, the Attorney might put his own Conceptions in Writing, and then his Majesty would the better judge of them. The King faid, it feemed reasonable to him, and He had proposed it to him; but He had declined it, and commended the Pen his Majesty had used to employ, as very clear and fignificant; and faid, if He had an Hour's Conference with that Person, the Business would be done. Whereupon the Chancellor went immediately to his Lodging, choosing rather to use that Civility towards him, than to fend for him; who did not love him (83) fo well as He had done, before He was his fuperiour Officer.

His Conferences with the Attorney

AFTER a long Conference together, and many Circumlocutions (which was his natural Way of Dif-General there- course) and asking Questions, why not this? and why not that? without expressing his own Opinion; at last He confessed, that there must be no Attempt to disfolve them, "though it might be even that "might be lawful in many Respects," but that it would be fufficient to declare the Force which had been, and still was upon them, that rendered them not Free; and fo They ought not to be looked upon as a Parliament: And that They might be required, to adjourn from Time to Time, till all the Members might with Safety repair to, and Sit with

them;

them; in all which the other agreed with him, and fo They parted: The Chancellor promising that, against the next Morning, He would prepare a Proclamation agreeable to that, which He thought to be their joint Meaning; for He did not observe any Difference to be between them. The next Morning the Attorney came to his Lodging, where He found the Draught prepared, which as foon as He had read, He faid did in no Degree express, or comprehend the Sense that had been agreed between them: And thereupon, He entered again into the fame Discourse He had made before, and more perplexed than before; being most offended with the Preamble, wherein it was declared, that the King neither could, or intended to break the Parliament: Which was fo contrary to what He had infufed into the King; and which the Chancellor thought most necessary to contradict that Reproach, which naturally would be cast upon his Majesty. In the End, when He had wearied himself with the Debate, They came both again to mean the fame Thing; which was no other than was agreed before, though as the Attorney faid, it was not expressed in the Draught before them: Whereupon it was agreed between them, that against the next Morning, either of them should make a Draught apart; and then, when They came together, it would eafily be adjusted.

But the next Morning They were as far asunder as before, and the Attorney had prepared no Paper, and said, it needed not, the Difference being very small, and would be rectified with changing, or leaving out a Word or two; which the Chancellor desired him to do, and to leave out, or put in, what He pleased: Which when He went about to do, twenty other Things occurred to him; and so He entered upon new Discourses, without concluding any Thing; and every Day entertained the King

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with an Account, as if all were agreed; but upon Conference with the Chancellor, his Majesty wondered at the Delay, and told him, He wondered at it, for the Attorney spake still as clearly to him, as it was possible for any Man to do, and therefore the putting it in Writing could not be hard. The other answered him, that it would never be done any other Way, than that, which He had first proposed to him; and therefore besought his Majesty, that He would oblige the Attorney to put his own Conceptions, which He made so clear to him, into Writing; and then, his Majesty having likewise what the Chancellor prepared in his Hands, He would easily conclude which should stand; and otherwise there would never be any Conclusion.

Whose Draught of a Proclamation the King specus to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

ABOUT two Days after, the Chancellor came into the Garden where the King was walking; and calling him fhortly to him, in fome Diforder, his Majesty told him, "He was never in that Amaze-"ment in his Life; that He had at last, not with-"out a very positive Command, obliged the Attor-" ney to bring him fuch a Draught in Writing, as "was agreeable to his own Sense; and that He had (89) "now done it; but in such a Manner, that He no "more understood what the Meaning of it was, "than if it were in Welch," which was the Language of the Attorney's Country: Only, He faid, "He "was very fure it contained nothing of the Sense "He had ever expressed to him;" and so bade him follow him into a little Room at the End of the Garden; where as foon as He was entered He shut the Door, because there were many People in the Garden; and then pulled a Paper out of his Pocket, and bade him read it; which when He had done, it being all in the Attorney's own Hand, He faid, "it deserved Wonder indeed;" and it was so rough, perplexed, and infignificant, that no Man could judge by it, or out of it, what the Writer proposed

to himself. And it made so great an Impression upon the King (who had before thought him a Man of a Master Reason, and that no Man had so clear Notions) that He never after had any Effeem of him.

other Man; of a very good natural Wit, improved the Attorney other Man; of a very good natural Wit, improved General Market THE Truth is, He was a Man very unlike any Character of by Conversation with learned Men, but not at all by Study and Industry: And then his Conversation was most with Men, though much superiour to him in Parts, who rather admired, than informed him. of which his Nature (being the proudeft Man living) made him not capable, because not desirous. His greatest Faculty was, and in which He was a Master, to make difficult Matters more intricate and perplexed; and very easy Things to seem more hard than they were. The King considered the Matter and Subject of that Proclamation, at the Council: where that Draught the Chancellor had provided, was agreed to; and the Attorney seemed to be satisfied in it; and was content to have it believed, that it had been confulted with him; though He never forgave the Chancellor for exposing him in that Manner; by which He found He had loft much Ground.

AFTER the Treaty of Uxbridge, most of the Com- The King's missioners had given so good a Testimony of the Approbation Chancellor's Diligence and Industry, that the King, cellor of the shortly after his Return, very graciously took No- Bebaviour in tice of it to him; and above all, of his Affection to the Treaty of the Church, of which, He faid, Dr. Steward had fo fully informed him, that He looked upon Him as one of the few, who was to be relied upon in that Particular: At which He faid, himself was not at all furprifed, having long known his Affection, and Judgment in that Point; but confessed He was surprised with the Carriage of some others, from whom He had expected another Kind of Behaviour, in

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Matters of the Church; and named Sir Orlando Bridgman, upon whom He said, He had always looked, being the Son of a Bishop, as so firm, that He could not be shaken; and therefore He was the more an ized to hear what Condescensions He had been willing to have made, in what concerned Religion; and pressed the Chancellor to answer some Questions He asked him about that Transaction; to the Particulars whereof He excused himself from answering, by the Protestation, They had all taken before the Treaty, with his Majesty's Approbation: Though indeed himself had been very much surprifed with the first Discovery of that Temper in that Gentleman, which He had never before suspected: And ever after faid, that "He was a Man of excel-" lent Parts, and honestly inclined; and would choose "much rather to do well than ill; but if it were " not fafe for him to be fleady in those Resolutions, "He was so much given to find out Expedients to " fatisfy unreasonable Men, that He would at last "be drawn to yield to any Thing, He should be

" powerfully preffed to do."

THE King at that Time baving refolved to separate (99) the Prince bis Son from himself, by sending him into the West, the Chancellor had a great Defire to excuse himself from attending upon the Prince in that Journey; and represented to his Majesty, that his Office made it more proper for him to be near his Majesty's Person; and therefore renewed his Suit -again to him, that his Service might be spared in that Employment; which He was the less inclined to, because He had discovered, that neither the Duke of Richmond, or the Earl of Southampton did intend to wait upon his Highness in that Expedition: But the King told him positively, and with fome Warmth, that if He would not go, He would not fend his Son: Whereupon He submitted to do any Thing which His Majesty should judge fit for his Service. THE

THE Chancellor speaking one Day with the Duke of Richmond, who was exceedingly kind to him, of the ill State of the King's Affairs, and of the Prince's Journey into the West, the Duke asked him, whether He was well refolved to carry the Prince into France, when He should be required. He answered, that there had been no fuch Thing mentioned to him, nor could He ever be made instrumental in it, but in one Case, which was, to prevent his falling into the Hands of the Parliament; and in that Case, He did believe every honest Man would rather advise his going any whither, than being taken by them: Yet even in that Case, He should prefer many Places before France. The Duke wished He might flay till then, implying that He doubted it was the present Design; but there was never any Thing discovered to make it believed, that there was a Delign at that Time formed to fuch a Purpose: Yet the Lord Digby, who had all Familiarity and Confidence with the Chancellor, shortly after gave him Occasion to apprehend, that there might even then be some such Intention.

AFTER a long Discourse, of the great Satisfac- Lord Digby's tion the King had in his (the Chancellor's) Service; Diffeourle with the and how much He was pleased with his Behaviour Chancellor in the Treaty at Uxbridge; and that He had not a concerning the greater Confidence in any Man's Affection, and Fi- to France. delity; He faid, his Majesty had a great Mind to confer with him upon a Point of the last Importance; but that He was kept from it, by an Apprehension, that He was of a different Judgment from his Majesty in that Particular. The other anfwered, that He was very forry that the King was referved for fuch a Reason; for though He knew, the Chancellor did never pretend to think one Thing, when He did think another, and so might take the Boldness to differ from his Majesty in his Judgment; yet the King could not believe, that Vol. I. He

He would discover the Secret, or refuse to do any Thing that became an honest Man, upon his Command, though He did not believe it counsellable. Whereupon, He entered upon a very reasonable Consideration, of the low Condition of the King; of the Discontent and Murmur of the Court, and of the Camp; how very difficult a Thing it was like to be, to raife fuch an Army as would be fit to take the Field; and how much more unfit it would be, for the King to fuffer himself to be enclosed in any Garrison; which He must be, if there were no Army for him to be in. If the first Difficulty should be maftered, and an Army made ready to march, there could be little Doubt, how great foever their Distractions were at London, but that the Parliament would be able to fend another more numerous, and much better supplied than the King's could be; and then, if the King's Army was beaten, He could have no Hope ever to raise another; his Quarters already being very streight; and after a Defeat, the victorious Army would find no Opposition; nor was there any Garrison that could oppose them any confiderable Time; London would pour out more For-(91) ces; that all the West would be swallowed up in an Instant; and in such a Case He asked him, whether He would not think it fit, and affift to the carrying the Prince out of the Kingdom.

The Chancellor's Reply.

THE Chancellor told him, He would deliver his Opinion freely to him, and was willing He should let the King know it. That such a Prospect as He had supposed, might, and ought to be prudently considered; but that it must be with great Secresy, for that there were already to his Knowledge some Whispers of such a Purpose; and that it was the true End of sending the Prince into the West; which, if it should be believed, it would never be in their Power to execute, though the Occasion should be most pressing; therefore desired there might

might not be the least Whisper of any Contingency, that might make it fit. For the Matter itself, it must never be done, upon any Supposition of a Necessity; but when the Necessity should be real, and in View, it ought to be resolved, and executed at once: And He would make no Scruple of carrying him rather into Turkey, than suffering him to be made a Prisoner to the Parliament.

THE Lord Digby replied, that though the King would be very well pleased with this Opinion of his, yet He would not be surprised with it; since He knew his Affection and Wisdom to be such, that in fuch an Extremity, He could not but have that Resolution: Therefore that was not the Point that the King doubted He would differ with him in. Then He continued the Discourse, that He hoped there would not fuch an Occasion fall out; and that the Divisions at London would yet open some Door for a good Peace to enter at; but if They should unite, and should fend out a strong Army, and likewife appoint the Scots to march towards them; how the King would do between two fuch Armies, was a terrible Prospect: And then the least Blow would raise so general a Consternation, that the King would be more disquieted by his Friends and Servants, than by the Enemy: That his Council was so constituted, that They would look upon the Prince's leaving the Kingdom, as lefs adviseable, than giving himself up to the Parliament; and that many Men were yet fo weak, as to believe, that the best Way the King could take for his Security, and Prefervation of his Posterity, was, to deliver up both Himself and all his Children into the Hands of the Parliament; and that They would then give him better Conditions, than They had offered in their Treaties; having it then in their Power to keep all fuch Persons from him, as They were disfatisfied with.

Ir this Opinion should once spread itself, as upon any fignal Defeat it would undoubtedly do. it must be expected, that the Council, and most of the Lords, who looked upon themselves as ruined for their Loyalty, out of their natural Apprehenfion, would imagine, that the Prince being then in the West, and at Liberty to do what should be thought fit, would be directed by the King to transport himself into Parts beyond the Sea; and the Queen his Mother being then in France, most probably thither: Which was a Circumstance that would likewise make his Transportation more univerfally odious. So that upon this Reflection and erroneous Animadversion, the King would be, in the first unfortunate Conjuncture, importuned by all about him, to fend for the Prince; or at least to fend fuch Orders to those to whose Care He was entrufted, that They should not presume to transport him beyond the Seas, in what Exigent foever. Most Men would believe, that They should merit of the Parliament by this Advice, and would profecute it with the more Earnestness and Importunity; whilst those Few who discerned the Mischief and (92) Ruin that must flow from it, would not have the Courage to deliver their Opinions in Publick, for Fear of being accused of the Counsel; and by this Means the King might be fo wearied and tired with Importunity, that against his Judgment, He might be prevailed with to fign fuch a Direction and Order, as is before mentioned; though his Majesty was clearly fatisfied in his Understanding, that if both Himself and the Prince were in their Hands together, the best that could happen, would be Murdering Him, and Crowning his Son; whereas if his Son were at Liberty, and out of their Reach, They would get Nothing by his Death, and confequently would not attempt it.

THIS He faid, was the fatal Conjuncture the King apprehended; and He then asked the Chancellor, what He would do. To which He answered, without paufing, that He hoped the King had made up a firm Resolution never to depart from his own Virtue, upon which his Fate depended: And that if He forfook himself, He had no Reason to depend upon the Constancy of any other Man, who had Nothing to support that Confidence, but the Conscience of doing what was just: That no Man could doubt the Lawfulness of obeying him, in carrying the Prince out of the Kingdom, to avoid his being taken by the Rebels; and He was not only ready to obey in that Case, but would confidently advise it, as a Thing in Policy and Prudence necesfary to be done. But if the King, being at Liberty, and with his own Counsellors and Servants, should under his Hand forbid the Prince to transport himself, and forbid all about him to suffer it to be done, He would never be guilty of disobeying that express Command; though He should be very forry to receive it. He wished the King would speak with him of it, that He might take the Boldness to conjure him, never to put an honest and a faithful Servant to that unjust Streight, to do any Thing expresly contrary to his plain and positive Command, upon Pretence of knowing his fecret Pleasure; which is exposing him to publick Justice, and Reproach, which can never be wiped out by the Conscience of the other; and that the Artifice was not worthy the Royal Breast of a great Monarch. This, He faid, was still upon the Supposition of the King's Liberty; but if He were a Prifoner in the Hands of his Enemies (though that should not shake his Resolution, or make him say Things He doth not intend, upon Imagination that others will know his Meaning) the Case would be different; and honest Men would pursue former Re-M 3 folutions.

folutions, though They should be countermanded,

according to Circumstances.

THE Conference ended; and was never after refumed: Nor did the King ever in the least Degree enter upon the Argument with the Chancellor, though He had many private Conferences with him upon all that occurred to him with Reference to what the Prince should do in the West; and of all the melancholick Contingencies, which might fall out in his own Fortune. And it was generally believed, that his Majesty had a much greater Considence in the Chancellor, than in the Other, whofe Judgment He had no Reverence for; and this made the Chancellor afterwards believe, that all the other Discourse from the Lord Digby proceeded rather from some Communication of Counsels He had with the Queen, than any Directions from the King. And He did upon concurrent Circumstances ever think, that the Queen did from the first Minute of the Separation of the Prince from the King, intend to draw his Highness into France, that He might be near her, and under her Tuition, before any Thing in the Declension of the King's Fortune required it, or made it counsellable; and therefore had appointed the Lord Digby, her Creature, who (93) She knew had great Friendship with the Chancellor to feel his Pulse, and discover, whether He (in whom She had never Confidence) might be applicable to her Purpofes. But He often declared, that the King himself never intimated the least Thought of the Prince's leaving the Kingdom, till after the Battle of Naseby, and when Fairfax was marched with his Army into the West, and himself was in Despair of being able to raise another Army; and even then, when He fignified his Pleasure to that Purpose, He left the Time, and the Manner, and the Place to Them, who were especially trusted by him, about the Prince; as will appear by the particular

ticular Papers which are preserved of that Affair; and wherein it will likewise appear, that his Majesty received infinite Satisfaction and Content in the whole Management of that Affair, and the happy and fecure Transportation of the Prince, in the just and proper Season, and when all the Kingdom was

right glad that it was done.

As his Majesty was more particularly gracious to the Chancellor from the Time of the Treaty at Uxbridge; fo there was no Day passed, without his conferring with him in private upon his most fecret Confiderations and Apprehensions, before his Departure with the Prince for the West. One Day He told him, He was very glad of what the Duke of Richmond had done the Day before; and indeed He had done somewhat the Day before, which very much furprifed the Chancellor. When his Majesty arose from Council, the Duke of Richmond whispered fomewhat privately to him, upon which the King went into his Bedchamber; and the Duke called the Chancellor, and told him, the King would speak with him, and so took him by the Hand, and led him into the Bedchamber; the Privilege and Dignity of which Room was then fo punctually preferved, that the King very rarely called any Privy Counsellor to confer with them there, who was not of the Bedchamber; which maintained a just Reverence to the Place, and an Esteem of those who were admitted to attend there.

As foon as He came into the Room, before He The Chancelfaid any Thing to the King, who was there alone, lor, with the the Duke spake to the Chancellor, and told him, probation, that He had been brought up from his Childhood forms a Friendship by the Crown, and had always paid it the Obe-with the Duke dience of a Child; that as He had taken a Wife of Richmond. with the Approbation and Advice of the Crown, so He had never made a Friendship, which He took to be a Kind of Marriage, without the King's Privity

Privity and particular Approbation; that He had long had a Kindness for him, but had taken Time to know him well, which He thought He now did; and therefore had asked his Majesty's Consent, that He might make a Friendship with him: And then faid to the King, "Sir, have I not your Approba-"tion to this Conjunction?" to which his Majesty faid, "yes, my Lord, I am very glad of it; and I "will pass my Word to you for the Chancellor, that "you will not repent it;" with many gracious Expressions to them both: And so the Duke led him out of the Room again, faying, "now, Mr. Chancel-"lor, it is in your Power to deceive me." And to this it was, that his Majesty's Discourse related the next Day, when He told him, He was glad of what had passed, &c. and said, He hoped He would give him good Counsel; for He had not of late lived towards him in the Manner He was used to do; that He knew well the Duke was a very honest and worthy Man, and had all the Kindness as well as Duty for his Majesty; but that He was grown sullen, or discontented, and had not the fame Countenance He used to have; for which He could imagine no other Reason, but that his Man Webb gave him ill Counfel: He faid, He was well contented that He should (94) take Notice, that his Majesty was not well satisfied; and asked him suddenly, when the Duke was at Oriel College with them; Oriel College was the Lodging of the Lord Treasurer, where that Committee for fecret Affairs, of which the Duke was one, used to meet. The Chancellor answered, that indeed the Duke had not been there lately, which He thought had proceeded from his Attendance upon his Majesty, or some other necessary Divertisement. The King faid, it proceeded not from thence; and that He might take Occasion from his Absence from thence, to let himself into that Discourse; and afterwards proceed as He thought fit.

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THE Duke was a Person of a very good Under- Character of standing; and of so great Perfection and Punctua-the Duke of Richmond, lity in all Matters of Honesty and Honour, that He was infinitely superiour to any Kind of Temptation. He had all the Warmth and Paffions of a Subject, and a Servant, and a Friend for the King, and for his Person; but He was then a Man of a high Spirit; and valued his very Fidelity at the Rate it was worth; and not the less, for that it had almost stood single for some Time. The Chancellor was very forry for this Discovery; and chose to wait upon the Duke the fame Day, near the Hour when the Meeting used to be at Oriel College: And when He had spent a short Time with him, He said, He thought it was Time to go to Oriel College, and asked his Grace, whether He would please to go thither; for which He making some Excuse, the other pressed him with some Earnestness, and said, it was observed that He had a good Time declined that Meeting, and if He should not now go thither, He should be doubtful there was some Reafon for it.

THE Duke replied, that He had indeed been absent from thence for some Time, and that He would deal clearly with him as his Friend, but defired it should not be known; that He was resolved to be there no more. Then complained, that the King was not kind to him; at least had not that Confidence in him, which He had used to have: And then spake of many Particulars loosely; and especially, that before the Treaty, He had advised the King to use all the Means He could to draw them to a Treaty, for many Advantages which were like to be gotten by it; and to that Purpose, produced a Letter that He had newly received from the Countess of Carlifle, and read it to his Majesty, who then feemed not to be moved with the Contents; but afterwards in several Discourses reslected

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upon it in such a Manner, as if He were jealous, that the Duke held too much Correspondence with that People: Which He looked upon as such a Point of Dissidence, that it was no longer fit for him to be present, when the secret Part of his Affairs was transacted; and so He had, and would forbear to meet in that Place, till his Majesty should entertain a better Opinion of him: Yet He concealed the Trouble of Mind which He sustained; and wished, that no Notice might be taken of it.

Whom He endeavours to reconcile to the King;

THE Chancellor told him, it wat too late for that Caution; that the Lords themselves could not but observe his long Absence, who before used to be the most punctual; and confessed to him, that the King himfelf had spoken to him of it with a Sense of Wonder and Dislike; which, He said, He was to blame himself for; since the Honour He had done him to the King, had likewise disposed his Majesty to trust him so far, as to express some Disfatisfaction He had in his Grace's late Carriage and Behaviour. The Duke feemed not displeased with the Communication, but thereupon entered into a fuller and warmer Discourse than before; how much the King had withdrawn his Confidence from him, and trusted others much more than him. In 18 Sum, it was easy to discern, that the Thing that troubled him, was the Power and Credit that John Albburnham had with the King; which his Vanity made him own to that Degree, that He was not content to enjoy the Benefit of it, except He made it publick, and to be taken Notice of by all Men; which could not but reflect upon his Honour: And when the Chancellor feemed to think it impossible, that himself could believe, that the King could prefer a Man of Mr. Ashburnham's Talent before his Grace; He proceeded with many Inflances, and infifted with most Indignation upon One. spicwierle tuil : 21

THAT

THAT about a Year before, Sir John Lucas, who was well known to his Grace, having met him abroad in his Travels, and ever after paid a particular Respect to him, had applied himself to him, and defired his Favour, that when there should be any Opportunity offered, He would recommend him to the King, to whom He was not unknown; that his Affection to his Majesty's Service was notorious enough, and that his Sufferings were fo likewife; his House being the first that was plundered in the Beginning of the War; by which, the Loss He fustained in Furniture, Plate, Money, and Stock, was very confiderable; fo that He might modeftly hope, that when his Majesty scattered his Favours upon others of his own Rank, his poor Service might likewife be remembered: But He had feen Men raised to Dignities, who He was fure had not the Advantage over him in their Sufferings, whatever They might have in their Actings; and He defired no more, but (fince it was too evident that his Majesty's Wants were great, and that Money would do him fome Service) that He might receive that Degree of Honour which others had, and He would make fuch a Prefent to him, as should manifest his Gratitude; and He defired to owe the Obligation to his Grace, and to receive it only by his Mediation.

HE faid, He had moved this Matter, with the Relation of all the Circumstances, to his Majesty, who spake very graciously of the Gentleman, as a Person of Merit, but faid, He was resolved to make no more Lords; which He received as a very good Answer, and looked upon as a good Resolution, and commended it; desiring only, that if at any Time his Majesty found it necessary to vary from that Resolution, He would remember his Proposition, and gratify that Gentleman; which He promised to do; and with all which He acquainted the Person concerned:

cerned; thinking it could not but well fatisfy him, But He told him, that He was forry that He could not receive the Honour, by his Grace's Recommendation; but for the Thing itself, He could have it when He would; and shortly after it was dispatched by Mr. Ashburnham. He asked, whether this was not preferring Mr. Asbburnbam very much before him. The Chancellor told him, He was preferred as the better Market Man; and that He ought not to believe, that the King's Affection swayed him to that Preference, but an Opinion, that the other would make the better Bargain. He replied, his Majesty was deceived in that, for He had told him what the other meant to give, without the least Thought of referving any Thing for himself; whereas his Majesty had now received five hundred Pounds lefs, and his Market Man had gotten fo much for his Pains.

IN Conclusion, He prevailed so far with him, that They went that Afternoon together to the Committee to Oriel College; and the next Day the Chancellor spake with the King again, and told him, that the Duke had been in the Afternoon with the Committee, where many Things had been confult-

And the King ed; and that He found, all his Trouble proceeded (9) to the Duke of from an Apprehension, that his Majesty had with-Richmond; from an Apprehension, that his Majesty had withdrawn his Affection from him; at least that He, the Duke, had not the same Credit with his Majesty, which he had formerly had; and that the Sense and Fear of that could not but make an Impression upon a good Servant, who loved his Mafter as well as He did. His Majesty said, They two should not live as well together as They had done, as long as the Duke kept his Man Webb; who made him believe, that the King was wholly governed by Ashburnham, and cared not for any Body elfe. He faid, no Body who knew him, could believe He could be governed by Ashburnham; who, though an honest Man,

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Man, and one that He believed loved him well, no Man thought was of an Understanding superiour to his Majesty; and enlarged himself upon this Argument fo much, that He feemed as it were glad of the Opportunity, to clear himself from that As-

persion, or Imputation.

IT is a very great Misfortune for any Prince to be suspected to be governed by any Man; for as the Reproach is of all others the most grievous, so They think the trufting weak Men, who are much fhort of their own Vigour of Wit and Understanding, is a fufficient Vindication from that Calumny; and fo, before They are aware of it, They decline wifer Men, who are fit to advise them, and give themselves to weaker, upon an Imagination, that no Body will ever fuspect They can be governed by them. In Fine, He found the Work too hard Bus without for him; the King being so much incensed against Success. Webb, that He expected the Duke should turn him away: And the Duke himself looked upon the King's Prejudice, as infused into him by Ashburnbam, upon particular Malice; having often defired, that some Accuser might charge Webb, and He be heard to answer for himself; which the King not being willing to admit, the other was unwilling to difmifs a Servant, his Secretary, who had ferved him long, and was very useful to him; and who indeed was never suspected for any Infidelity, or Want of Affection to his Master: And so the Chancellor, to his great Trouble, was not able to remove that Cloudiness that remained in both their Countenances, which never produced the least ill Effect in the View or Observation of any; the Duke's Duty being never in any Degree diminished, and the King's Kindness to him continuing with many gracious Evidences, to his Death.

The King's last Conference with the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

THE last Conference his Majesty had with the Chancellor, was the very Day the Prince began his Journey towards the West, and indeed after He had received his Bleffing; when his Majesty sent for him into his Bedchamber; and repeated fome Things He had mentioned before. He told him, "there had been many Things which had troubled "him, with Reference to his Son's Absence from "him; for all which, but one, He had fatisfied "himself: The one was, the Inconvenience which "might arise from the Weakness and Folly of his "Governour; against which He had provided, as " well as He could, by obliging the Prince to fol-"low the Advice of his Council in all Things; "which He was well affured He would do; and "He had given them as much Authority, as They could wish. Another was, that there was one Ser-" vant about the Prince, who He thought had too "much Credit with him, which was Elliot; who "He did not intend should be with him in the " Journey; and had therefore fent him into France "to the Queen, with Direction to her Majesty, to "keep him there; and if He should return whilst "the Prince remained in the West, that He should "be fent to his Majesty, and not suffered to stay "with his Highness; and that was all the Care He "could take in those two Particulars: But there was " a Third, in which He knew not what to do, and "that troubled him much more than the other "two." When the Chancellor feemed full of Expectation to know what that might be, the King faid, "I have observed of late some Kind of Sharp-"ness, upon many Occasions, between Colepepper "and you; and though you are joined with other "honest Men, yet my great Confidence is upon "you two: I know not that the Fault is in you; "nay, I must confess, that it is very often in him; "but let it be where it will, any Difference and " Unkind-

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"Unkindness between you two must be at my "Charge; and I must tell you, the Fear I have of "it gives me much Trouble: I have fpoken very "plainly to him my Apprehension in this Point, "within this Hour; and He hath made as fair Pro-"mifes to me as I can wish; and upon my Con-"fcience I think He loves you, though He may

"fometimes provoke you to be angry."

THE King here making a Pause, the Chancellor, out of Countenance, faid, "He was very for-"ry, that He had ever given his Majesty any Oc-"casion for such an Apprehension; but very glad, "that He had vouchsafed to inform him of it; be-"cause He believed He should give his Majesty "fuch Affurance in that Particular, as would fully "fatisfy him: He affured his Majesty, that He had "a great Esteem of the Lord Colepepper; and though "He might have at fome Times Passions which "were inconvenient, He was so confident of him-"felf that they should not provoke or disturb "him, that He was well content, that his Majesty "fhould condemn, and think Him in the Fault, if "any Thing should fall out, of Prejudice to his "Service, from a Difference between them two." With which his Majesty appeared abundantly satisfied, and pleased; and embracing him, gave him his Hand to kifs; and He introdiately went to Horse, and followed the Prince: And this was the last Time the Chancellor ever faw that gracious and excellent King.

IT was upon the 4th of March, in the Year 1644, The Chancelthat the Prince parted from the King his Father. lor attends the He lodged that Night at Farringdon; having made the West; his Journey thither, in one continued Storm of Rain, and is there first affaulted from the Minute He left Oxford: And from thence by the Gout. went the next Day to the Garrison of the Devizes; and the third to the City of Bath; which being a fafe Place, and within seven or eight Miles of Brif-

tol, He staid there two or three Days. And in this Journey the Chancellor was first assaulted with the Gout, having never had the least Apprehension of it before; but from his coming to Bath, He was not able to stand; and so went by Coach to Bristol; where in few Days He recovered that first Lameness, which ever after afflicted him too often. And so the Year 1644 ended, which shall conclude this Part.

Montpelier, 6th November, 1669.



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EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON

From his Birth to the Restoration of the Royal Family in the Year 1660.

PART the FOURTH.

Very particular Memorial of all material Affairs in the West, during the subsequent Year of 1645, during the Prince's Residence in the West-The State, and Temper of that Country, after the Defeat of his Majesty's Army at Naseby - The feveral Plots and Devices of the Lord Goring, to get the Prince into his Power - The Debauchery of that Army, and amongst the Officers of it; and the Defeats it suffered from the Enemy. through that Debauchery - Goring's Departure out of the Kingdom; and the Posture He left his Army in -The beating up of their Quarters afterwards -The entering of Fairfax into the West with his Army; and his sudden taking the Towns there— The mutinous Behaviour of Sir Richard Greenvil, and the Quarrels, and Conflicts between the Troops under his Command, with those under the Lord Goring - The Prince's Retreat by Degrees backward into Cornwall, as Fairfax advanced - The feveral Messages, and Orders from the King, for the transporting the Prince out of England; and all the Vol. I. DirecDirections, and Resolutions thereupon; and the several Messages from the Queen, and the Earl of St. Albans; with the Affurance of a Supply of fix thousand Foot, under the Command of Ruvignie, promifed confidently to be landed in Cornwall, within one Month; when there was not any fuch Thing in Nature, nor one Company raifed, or Ship in Readiness, or in View for such an Expedition, &c. - The King's obliging the Lord Hopton, to take Charge of those broken and dissolute Troops—The Commitment of Sir Richard Greenvil, for not submitting to be commanded by him; and for endeavouring to raife a Party in the Country, to treat with the Enemy, for the Security and Neutrality of Cornwall; and the Routing the Lord Hopton's Troops at Torrington - The Prince's Retreat thereupon to Pendennis; and the Factions, and Conspiracies between fome of his own Servants and fome Gentlemen of the Country, to hinder the Prince from going out of the Kingdom; and the Departure of his Highness from Pendennis, in the End of that Year 1645, and his Arrival in the Island of Scilly, is contained in Papers, orderly and methodically fet down; which Papers and Relation are not now at Hand, but are fafe; and will be eafily found: Together with his Highness's Stay in the (99) Island of Scilly: From whence, the next Day the Lord Colepepper was dispatched, with Letters to the Queen, to Paris, to give Notice of his Highness's being in that Island; and to desire Money, Arms, and Ammunition for the Defence thereof: And at the fame Time another Vessel was sent into Ireland, to give the Marquis of Ormond likewise Information of it; and to defire that two Companies of Foot might be fent thither, to encrease that Garrison, and to defend it in case the Enemy should attack it - His Highness's Stay in Scilly, near fix Weeks; until the Lords Capel and Hopton came wither; after

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after They had made Conditions for the dilbanding. their Troops, with Fairfax; which Goring's Troops made it necessary to do: They not only refusing to obey all Orders, but mingling every Day with the Troops of the Enemy, and remaining quietly together in the same Quarters, drinking and making merry with each other-The Report of a Fleet defigned from the Parliament for Scilly, and those Lords viewing the Mand, and not looking upon it as tenable, caused a new Consultation to be held, whether it were fit for his Highness to remain there till the Return of the Lord Colepepper, or to remove fooner; and whither He should remove; the Frigate which brought the Prince from Pendennis being still kept in a Readiness at Scilly, upon the Forelight that his Remove might come to be necessary - That upon this Confultation it was refolved, that it would not be fafe for his Highness to remain there; but that He should transport himself from thence into the Island of Fersey; which was done accordingly - And his Highness's Arrival there as bout the beginning of April, 1645 - The Prince's Reception in Fersey, by Sir George Corteret; and the univerfal Joy of the Island for his Arrival; with the Situation and Strength of the Mand - The Lord Digby's Arrival in Jersey, with two Frigates from Ireland, and with two hundred Soldiers; having been at Scilly, and there heard of his Highness's Departure for Jersey - His earnest Advice for the Prince his going for Ireland; and, when He could not obtain his Highness's Consent till the Return of the Lord Colepepper, His going to Paris to perfuade the Queen, and to protest against the Prince's going for France; against which He inveighed with more Passion than any Man - The Arrival of Mr. Thomas Jermyn from Paris, with very positive Orders for the Prince's Repair thither, from the Queen - And shortly after, the Lord Colepepper's Arrival, N 2 who

who had been dispatched from her Majesty to return to Scilly, before She knew of his Highness's Remove from thence; which Advertisement overtook the Lord Colepepper at Havre de Grace, after He was embarked; and so He bent his Course thither, and had the same Orders for the Prince his going to Paris, as Mr. Jermyn had likewise brought.

THERE was none of the Council inclined that his Highness, being in a Place of unquestionable Safety, should suddenly depart from thence; till the State and Condition in which his Majesty was, and his Pleasure, might be known: It was then understood, that his Majesty had left Oxford, and was with the Scotish Army before Newark; which He had caused to be rendered, that the Army might retire; which it presently did, and the King in it, to Newcastle: The Prince was yet in his Father's Dominions; fome Places in England still holding out, as Oxford, Worcester, Pendennis, and other Places; that it would be easy, in a short Time, to understand the King's Pleasure; and that there could be no Inconvenience in expecting it, the Prince's Person being in no possible Danger: But that the Mischief might be very great, if without the King's Direction it were done, whether his Majesty should (100) be well or ill treated by the Scots; and that the Parliament might make it a new Matter of Reproach against the King, that He had sent the Heir Apparent of the Crown out of the Kingdom; which could be no otherwise excused, at least by those who attended him, than by evident and apparent Neceffity: Those Reasons appeared of so much Weight to the Prince himself (who had not a natural Inclination to go into France) and to all the Council, that the Lord Capel, and the Lord Colepepper were defired to go to Paris, to fatisfy the Queen, why the Prince had deferred yielding a present Obedience to her Command.

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THE Treatment They received at Paris; and their Return again to Fersey, together with the Lord Fermyn, and Lord Digby, and some other Persons of Quality: The Lord Digby being to return to Ireland, with eight thousand Pistoles, which the Cardinal fent towards the Supply of the King's Service there; and being by it, and the Cardinal, so throughly convinced of the Necessity of the Prince's going for France, that He was more positive for it, than any of the rest; and had promised the Queen, that He would convert the Chancellor, and make him consent to it; with whom He had a great Friendship — The Debate at Jersey upon their coming back - The Lord Capel adhering to his former Opinion, that We might first know the King's Opinion; towards the receiving of which, He had offered the Queen, and now offered again, to go himfelf to Newcastle, where the King still was; Nobody knowing what would be the Issue of the Controversy between the Scots and the Parliament; and if the King should direct it, every Man would willingly attend his Highness; and punctually observe whatfoever the King commanded: And because the Objection might be removed, of his being taken Prifoner by the Parliament, or his being not suffered by the Scots to speak with the King; He did offer, and all who were of his Opinion confented to it, that if He did not return to Jersey, within one Month, the Prince should pursue the Queen's Orders; and every Man would attend his Highness into France; and a Month's Delay could be of no ill Consequence - The Prince's Resolution to go presently for Paris; — and the Reasons which moved the Lords Capel and Hopton, and the Chancellor, to excuse themselves - and his Highness's Pemisfion to remain in Jersey, from whence They would attend his Commands, when He had any Service for them - And the fudden Reservedness, and N 3 StrangeStrangeness that grew between those, who advised the going, and those who were for staying - and the Prince's embarking himself for France, about

July, in the Year 1646.

ALL these Particulars are so exactly remembered in those Papers remaining in a Cabinet easy to be found, that they will quickly be put into a Method; and contain enough to be inserted in the Fourth Part of this Relation.

Montpelier, 9th November, 1669.

N. B. These Materials were afterwards made Use of by the Author, when He compleated the History of the Rebellion, where these Occurrences are treated of more at large.



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The LIFE of

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON

From his Birth to the Restoration of the ROYAL FAMILY in the Year 1660.

PART the FIFTH.

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THE Prince having left Jersey, about July, The Chancelin the Year 1646; the Chancellor of the lor of the Ex-Exchequer remained there about two Years sidence at after; where He presently betook himself to his Jersey. Study; and enjoyed (as He was wont to fay) the greatest Tranquillity of Mind imaginable. Whilst the Lords Capel and Hopton staid there, They lived and kept House together in St. Hillary's, which is the chief Town of the Island; where having a Chaplain of their own, They had Prayers every Day in the Church, at a Eleven of the Clock in the Morning; till which Hour They enjoyed themselves in their Chambers, according as They thought fit; the Chancellor betaking himself to the Continuance of the History, which He had begun at Scilly, and spending most of his Time at that Exercise. The other two walked, or rode abroad, or read, as They were disposed; but at the Hour of Prayers They always met; and then dined together at the Lord Hopton's Lodging, which was the best House; They being lodged at feveral Houses, with Convenience

nience enough. Their Table was maintained at their joint Expense, only for Dinners; They never using to sup; but met always upon the Sands in the Evening to walk, often going to the Castle to Sir George Carteret; who treated them with extraordinary Kindness and Civility, and spent much Time with them; and in Truth, the whole Island shewed great Affection to them, and all the Persons of Quality invited them to their Houses, to very good Entertainments; and all other Ways expressed great Esteem towards them.

He writes from thence to the King.

AND from hence They writ a joint Letter to the King, which They fent to him by Mr. Fanshaw; in which They made great Profession of their Duty to his Majesty, and their Readiness to proceed in his Service; and to wait upon the Prince upon the first Occasion; with such Reasons for their not attending him into France, as They thought could not but be fatisfactory to his Majesty; declaring, that They had only defired that He would flay fo long in a Place of his own, of unquestionable Security, as that They might receive the Signification of his Majesty's Pleasure for his Remove; upon which They were all refolved to have waited upon him: Though it was evident enough to them, that (102) their Advice would be no longer hearkened unto, after his Highness should arrive with the Queen.

In England, Men's Hopes and Fears were raifed according to their Tempers; for there was Argument for both Affections in the Transactions, and Occurrences of every Day; it being no easy Matter, to make a Judgment which Party would prevail; nor what They would do, if They did. The Lord Capel received Advice from his Friends in England, to remove from Jersey into some Part of the United Provinces: That so being in a Place to which there could be no Prejudice, his Friends might the more hopefully solicit for Liberty for him to return into

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his own Country, and that He might live in his own House; which They had Reason to hope would not be denied to a Person who had many Friends, and could not be conceived to have any Enemies; his Person being worthily esteemed by all. Whereupon, with the full Concurrence and Advice of his two Friends from whom He had great Tenderness to part, and with whom He renewed his Contract of Friendship at parting in a particular Manner, upon Forefight of what might happen, He went from thence, and first waited upon the Prince at Paris, that He might have his Royal Highness's Approbation for his Return into England, if He might do it upon honourable Conditions: And from thence, with all possible Demonstration of Grace from the Prince, He transported himself to Middleburgh in Zealand; where He remained till his Friends procured Liberty for him to return, and remain at his own House. The worthy and noble Things He did after, deferve to be transmitted to Posterity, in some more illustrious Testimony, that may be worthy to be recorded.

THE Lord Capel thus leaving Jersey, the Lord Hopton and the Chancellor remained still there, in the same Conjunction, until, some few Months after, the Lord Hopton received the News of the Death of his Wife, and of the Arrival in France of his Uncle, Sir Arthur Hopton; who having been Ambassadour from the King in Spain, had left that Court, and retired to Paris; from whence He shortly after removed to Rouen, with a Purpose, as soon as He had at large conferred with his Nephew, to go into England, for the Good and Benefit of both their Fortunes: And upon this Occasion, the Lord Hopton likewise left Jersey, with all possible Profession of an entire Friendship to the Chancellor, which was never violated in the least Degree to his Death. And the Chancellor being thus left alone,

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And removes He was, with great Civility and Friendship, invited by Sir George Carteret to remove from the Town (where He had lived with his Friends till then) and to live with him in the Castle Elizabeth; whither He went, the next Day after the Departure of the Lord Hopton, and remained there to his wonderful Contentment, in the very cheerful Society of Sir George Carteret and his Lady; in whose House He received all the Liberty, and Entertainment He could have expected in his own Family; of which He always retained so just a Memory, that there was never any Intermission, or Decay of that Friendship He then made: And He remained there, till He was fent for again to attend the Prince, which will be mentioned in its Time.

HE built a Lodging in the Castle, of two or three convenient Rooms, to the Wall of the Church, which Sir George Carteret had repaired, and beautified; and over the Door of his Lodging He fet up his Arms, with this Inscription, Bene Vixit, qui bene Latuit: And He always took Pleasure in relating, with what great Tranquillity of Spirit (though deprived of the Joy He took in his Wife and Children) He spent his Time here, amongst his Books (10) (which He got from Paris) and his Papers; between which He seldom spent less than ten Hours in the Day; and it can hardly be believed how much He read, and writ there; infomuch as He did usually compute, that during his whole Stay in Jersey, which - was fome Months above two Years, He writ daily little less than one Sheet of large Paper, with his own Hand; most of which are still to be seen amongst his Papers.

Where He writes the History of the Troubles.

> FROM Hampton Court, his Majesty writ to the Chancellor of the Exchequer with his own Hand; in which He took Notice that He was Writing the History of the late Troubles, for which He thanked him, faying, that He knew no Man could do it fo well:

well; and that He would not do it the worfe, by the Helps that He would very speedily send him Towards (as his Majesty shortly after did, in two Manuscripts which the very fairly written, containing all Matters of Im- nifbes bim portance, that had passed from the Time that the south the Passes of the Prince of Wales went from his Majesty into the Years 1645, West, to the very Time that his Majesty himself and 1646. went from Oxford to the Scotish Army; which were all the Paffages in the Years 1645, and 1646): He used many gracious Expressions in that Letter to him; and faid, He looked upon him as one of those who had served him with most Fidelity, and therefore He might be confident of his Kindness: and that He would bring him to him with the first; though He faid, He did not hold him to be Infallible, as He might discern by what He had commanded Dr. Sheldon, who was then Clerk of his Closet, to write to him; and at the same Time the Doctor writ him Word, that the King was forry that He, the Chancellor, staid at Fersey, and did not attend the Prince into France; and that if He had been there. He would have been able to have prevented the Vexation his Majesty had endured at Newcastle, by Messages from Paris.

THE Doctor likewise sent him Word, that great Pains had been taken from Paris, to incense the King against him; but that it had so little prevailed, that his Majesty had with some Sharpness reprehended those who blamed him, and had justified the Chancellor. He made hafte to answer his Majesty's Letter, and gave him fo much Satisfaction, that his Majesty said, He was too hard for him. And about the same Time the Lord Capel came into England; and though He was under Security to the Parliament for behaving himself peaceably, He was not restrained from seeing the King; and so gave him a very particular Information of all that had passed at Ferfey, and many other Things, of which his

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Majesty had never been informed before; which put it out of any Body's Power to make any ill Impressions towards the Chancellor.

U P O N the King's refusing to give his Affent to the four Acts, fent to him from the Parliament, when He was in the Isle of Wight, They voted, that no more Addresses should be made to the King; and published a Declaration to that Effect, which contained severe Charges against his Majesty. Vid. Hift. Reb. Fol. Vol. 3. P. 67, &c.

The Chancellor of the Exan Answer to the Parliaration of the 1647.

THE Chancellor of the Exchequer no fooner rechequer writes ceived a Copy of it in Fersey, than He prepared a and publishes very large and full Answer to it; in which He made the Malice and the Treason of that libellous Dement's Decla- claration to appear, and his Majesty's Innocence in 15th of Feb. all the Particulars charged upon him, with such pathetical Applications and Infinuations, as were most like to work upon the Affections of the People: All which was transmitted (by the Care of Mr. Secretary Nicholast who refided at Caen in Normandy, and held a constant Correspondence with the Chancellor) to a trusty Hand in London; who caused it to be well printed, and divulged, and found Means to fend it to the King: Who, after He had (104) read it, faid He durst swear it was writ by the Chancellor, if it were not that there was more Divinity in it, than He expected from him, which made him believe He had conferred with Dr. Steward. - But some Months after, being informed by Secretary Nicholas, He fent the Chancellor Thanks for it; and expressed, upon all Occasions, that He was much pleased with that Vindication.

> THE Lord Capel had written to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who remained still in Jersey, fignifying the King's Commands, that as foon as the Chancellor should be required to wait upon

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the Prince, He should without Delay obey the Summons. The King had writ to the Queen, that when it should be necessary for the Prince to remove out of France, the Charcellor should have Notice of it, and be required to attend him. About the beginning of April, in the Year 1648. the Lord Capel writ again to the Chancellor, giving him Notice, that He would probably be fent for foon, and defiring him to be ready. About the Middle of May, the Queen fent to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to Fersey, commanding, that He would wait upon the Prince at Paris, upon a Day that was past before the Letter came to his Hands; but as foon as He received the Summons, He immediately transported himself into Normandy, and went to Caen; from thence He hastened to Roilen, where He found the Lord Cottington, the Earl of Bristol, and Secretary Nicholas, who had received the fame Commands. They were informed that the Prince was passed by towards Calais, and Direction was fent, that the Chancellor and the rest should stay at Rouen, till They should receive new Orders from Calais. Within few Days They received Advice, that the Prince had put himself on board a Ship that He found at Calais bound for Holland, where They were to hear from him; whereupon They removed from Rouen to Dieppe; from whence They might embark for Holland when required. Vid. Hift. Reb. Fol. Vol. 3. P. 102, &c.

AFTER the Lord Cottington, the Earl of Bristol, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer had staid at Dieppe some Days, and were confirmed, by Reports every Day, that the Prince was in Holland, and that the Fleet wanted some Provisions, without which it could not put out to Sea; They resolved to make Use of the first Vessel, of which there were

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many then in the Harbour, that should be bound for Holland, and to transport themselves thither; and there was one which within two or three Days would fet out for Flushing. The Earl of Bristol had no Mind to venture himself in such a Vessel, and fince the Fleet that had declared for the King was then in Holland, He apprehended that the Parliament might have other Vessels abroad, that might eafily seize upon that small Bark; and so after some Debate with the Lord Cottington (They two being feldom of one Mind) the Earl resolved to return to his old Habitation at Caen, and expect another

THE Chancellor, who knew nothing of the Sea,

Occasion.

nor understood the Hazards thereof (being always fo afflicted upon that Element with Sickness, that He confidered nothing about it, and holding himfelf obliged to make what Haste He could to the Prince) committed himself entirely to the Lord Cottington: And when They resolved to embark themfelves in the Vessel bound for Flushing, a French Man of War, which was called the King's Ship, came into the Road of Dieppe, and offered to carry them the next Day to Dunkirk; which They took to be the fafer Passage: And so giving the Captain(10) The Chancel- as much Money as He demanded, They put themfor of the Ex- felves upon his miferable Frigate, where They had no Accommodations, but the open Deck; and were fafely set on Shore at Dunkirk, where Marshal Rantzaw was then Governour. And They no fooner landed in the Evening, but Carteret, a Servant of the Prince's, came to them, and informed them, that the Prince was entered the River of Thames with the Fleet; and that He was fent by his Highness to the Marshal for a Frigate, which He had offered to lend the Prince: And that He had delivered the Letter, and the Marshal (who had been out all the Night before upon a Defign upon the Enemy,

chequer em-barks for Dunkirk.

Enemy, and was newly arrived, and gone to Bed) had promifed him that the Frigate should be ready the next Day. This seemed an extraordinary good Fortune to them, that They might now embark directly for the Fleet, without going into Holland, which They were willing to avoid; and so resolved to speak with the Marshal as soon as They could, that They might be confirmed by him, that his Frigate should be ready the next Day; and thereupon sent a Servant to wait at the Marshal's Lodging, that They might know when He waked, and was to be spoken with.

THE Marshal had Notice of their Arrival before the Servant came to him, and of their Desire to go to the Prince; and sent one of his Officers to welcome them to the Town, and to see them well accommodated with Lodging; and to excuse him, that He did not wait upon them that Night, by Reason of the Fatigue He had undergone the Night before, and that Day; and to oblige them to dine with him the next Day, against which Time the Vessel would be made ready to receive them, and transport them to the Prince's Fleet; with which They were abundantly satisfied, and betook themselves to their Rest for that Night: And were early up the next Morning to see the Marshal; but it was late before He rose.

HE received them with great Civility, being a very proper Man, of a most extraordinary Presence and Aspect, and might well be reckoned a very handsome Man, though He had but one Leg, one Hand, one Eye, and one Ear, the other being cut off with that Side of his Face; besides many other Cuts on the other Cheek, and upon his Head, with many Wounds in the Body; notwithstanding all which, He stood very upright, and had a very graceful Motion, a clear Voice, and a charming Delivery; and if He had not, according to the Custom

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Custom of his Nation (for He was a German) too much indulged to the Excess of Wine, He had been one of the most excellent Captains of that Age. He professed great Affection to the Prince, and much commended the Frigate He intended to fend to him; which for the Swiftness of it was called the Hare, and out failed, as He faid, all the Vessels of that Coast; and after He had treated them with a very excellent and a jovial Dinner, about Four of the Clock in the Afternoon, He brought them to their Boat, that put them on board their Frigate; which was but a small Vessel of twenty Guns, much inferiour to what They expected, by the Description the Marshal had made of it. However, it was very proper for the Use They were to make of it, to be delivered at the Fleet; and fo, the Moon shining very fair, They weighed Anchor about Sun

fet, with a very small Gale of Wind.

THE Prince being Master at Sea, They had no manner of Apprehension of an Enemy; not knowing, or confidering, that They were very near Oftend, and fo, in Respect of the Vessel They were in, liable to be made a Prize by those Men of War; as it fell out: For about Break of Day, in a dead Calm, (10) They found themselves pursued by fix or seven Ships, which, as They drew nearer, were known by the Seamen to be the Frigates of Oftend. There was no Hope to escape by the Swifthess of the Vessel, for there was not the least Breath of Wind; and it was to no Purpose to resist; for besides that the Vessel was not half manned, four or five of the Pursuers were stronger Ships; so that it was thought best to let the Sails fall, that They might fee there was no Purpose of Resistance, and to send Carteret in the Boat, to inform the Ships who the Persons were, that were on Board, and that They had a Pass from the Arch-Duke; for an authentick Copy of a Pass the Arch-Duke had sent to the Prince,

And from thence for the Prince's Fleet.

Prince, had been fent to them. All the Ships, though They had the King of Spain's Commission, were Free-booters, belonging to private Owners, who observed no Rules or Laws of Nations; but They boarded the Vessel, with their Swords drawn But is taken and Pistols cocked, and without any Distinction, by some Friplundered all the Passengers with equal Rudeness, Offend; fave that They stripped some of the Servants to their very Shirts; They used not the rest with that Barbarity, being fatisfied with taking all They had in their Pockets, and carefully examined all their Valises, and Trunks, in which They found good Booty.

THE Lord Cottington loft, in Money and Jewels, above one thousand Pounds; the Chancellor, in Money, about two hundred Pounds, and all his Cloaths and Linen; and Sir George Ratcliffe and . Mr. Wansford, who were in the Company, above five hundred Pounds in Money and Jewels. And having pillaged them in this Manner, They carried and carried to them all, with the Frigate They had been in, Pri-tbat Port. foners to Oftend; where They arrived about Two of the Clock in the Afternoon; all the Men and Women of the Town being gathered together to behold the Prize that was brought in within so few Hours; for Intelligence had been fent from Dunkirk, the Night before (according to the Custom and good Intelligence observed in those Places) of the going out of this Vessel, which had such Perfons on Board. When They were on Shore, They were carried, through all the Spectators, to a common Inn; from whence They fent to the Magiftrates, to inform them of what Condition They were, and of the Injuries They had received, by having been treated as Enemies; and demanded Restitution of Ship, and Goods.

THE Magistrates, who were called the Lords of the Admiralty, came prefently to them, and when They Vol. I.

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He is fet at Liberty; and promised Satisfaction.

They were fully informed of the whole Matter, and had feen the Arch-Duke's Pass, They feemed very much troubled; and with much Civility affured them, that They should not only receive all that had been taken from them, but that the Men should be severely punished for their Transgression. They immediately discharged those Guards that kept them as Prisoners; and provided the best Lodgings in the Town for them: And because it was growing towards the Evening, and the Frigates were not yet come in, They excused themselves that They could do no more that Night; but promifed to go themselves on board the Ships the next Morning early; and defired that fome of the Gentlemen of their Company might go with them, to the End that They might discover at least some of those, who had been most rude towards them; who should be fure to be imprisoned till full Satisfaction were made by the reft.

As foon as the Lords of the Admiralty were gone, the Governour, an old Spaniard, came to visit them with all Professions of Civility and Service. and feemed to abhor the Barbarity with which They had been treated; asked very particularly of the (107) Manner of them, and of every Particular that had been taken from them; and told them, They should be fure to have it all returned; for that They did not trouble themselves in such Cases to find out the Seamen, who were the Plunderers, but reforted always to the Owners of the Ships, who lived in the Town, and were substantial Men, and bound to answer and satisfy for all Misdemeanours committed by the Company; and faid, He would be with them the next Day, and take Care that all should be done that was Just. These Professions and Assurances made them believe, that They should receive full Reparation for the Damages They had received; and the Lord Cottington began to commend the

the good Order and Discipline that was observed, under the Spanish Government, much different from that in other Places; and in how much better Condition They were, after such Usage, to be brought into Ostend, than if They had been so used by the

French, and carried into any of their Ports.

THE next Morning two of the Lords of the Admiralty called upon them, in their Way to the Ships; retaining the same Professions They had made the Night before; and Sir George Ratcliffe, Mr. Wansford, and some of their Servants accompanied them according to their Defire; and as foon as They were on Board the Admiral's Veffel, that had brought them in, and had taken them' out of their own, They knew some of those Seamen, who had been most busy about them; which were immediately seized on, and searched, and about some of them some Pieces of Chains of Gold. and other Things of Value belonging to the Lord Cottington were found, and forme Mails, in which were Linen and Cloaths; all which were prefently restored and delivered to some of the Servants, who were prefent, and brought them to their Masters. The Chancellor was more solicitous for some Papers He had loft, than for his Money; and He was used to fay, that He looked upon it as a fingular Act of Providence, that those Officers prevailed with a Seaman, who had taken it out of his Pocket, to restore a little Letter which He had lately received from the King. whilst He was in the Hands of the Army; which, for the Grace and Kindness contained in it, He did ever exceedingly value.

THOSE of the Admiralty, though They had not yet found out either any of the Jewels or Money, of which They had been robbed, thought They had done enough for the Morning; and so returned to Dinner, declaring that They would

return in the Afternoon; and directed the Ships to be drawn nearer together, to the End They might visit them together; and They did return in the Afternoon, accompanied as before, but their Reception by the Seamen was not as in the Morning. The Captains answered those Questions, which were asked of them, negligently and scornfully; and those Seamen who had been searched in the Morning, and were appointed to be produced in the Afternoon to be further examined, could not be found; and instead of bringing the Ships nearer together, fome of them were gone more out to Sea, and the rest declared, that They would go all out to Sea that Night; and when the Magistrates seemed to threaten them, They fwore They would throw both them, and all who came with them, over Board, and offered to lay Hands upon them in Order to it; so that They were all glad to get off; and returned to the Town, talking loud what Vengeance They would take upon the Captains and Seamen when They returned again into Port (for They already stood out to Sea in their Sight) and in the mean Time They would profecute the Owners of the Veffels, who should satisfy for the Damage received; but from this Time, the Governour, nor the Lords (108) of the Admiralty cared to come near them: And They quickly found that the Reason of all the Governour's Civility the first Night, and the many Questions He had asked concerning all the Particulars They had loft of any Kind, was only to be the better informed, to demand his Share from the Seamen; and that the Lords of the Admiralty were the Owners of the feveral Vessels, or had Shares in them, and in the victualling, and fo were to divide the Spoil, which They pretended should be restored. So that after They had remained there four or five Days, They were contented

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But cannot obtain it.

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tented to receive one hundred Pistoles for discharging the Debts They had contracted in the Town (for there was not any Money left amongst them) and to carry them to the Prince, which those of the Admiralty pretended to have received from fome of the Owners, and to wait for farther Justice, when the Ships should return, which They doubted not should be effectually called for, by the Commands of the Arch-Duke, when He should be informed: And so They prosecuted their Journey to the Prince, making their Way by Bruges, and from thence by the Way of Sluys to Flushing; and those hundred Pistoles were the only Recompence that They ever received for that Affront and Damage They had fustained, which in the whole amounted to two thousand Pounds at the least; though the King's Resident De-Vic at Bruffels profecuted the Pretence with the Arch-Duke, as long as there was any Hope.

THE Chancellor was often used to relate an Observation that was generally made and discoursed at Ostend, at that Time, that never any Man who adventured in fetting out those Frigates of Rapine, which are called Men of War, or in victualling, or bearing any Share in them, died rich, or possessed of any valuable Estate: And that as He walked one Morning about the Town, and upon the Quay, with an English Officer, who was a Lieutenant in that Garrison, They saw a poor old Man walk by them, whom the Lieutenant defired the Chancellor to observe; and when He was passed by, He told him, that He had known that Man the richest of any Man in the Town; that He had been the Owner of above ten Ships of War at one Time, without any Partner or Sharer with him; that He had had in his Warehouses in the Town, as much Goods and Merchandise together, as amounted to the Value of one hundred thousand Pounds, within seven Years before the Time He was then speaking; and after the Loss of two or three Frigates, He insensibly decayed fo fast, that having begun to build another Frigate, which He shewed him as They walked, and which lay then not half finished. He was not able to go through with it; and that He was at that Time so poor, that He had not wherewith to maintain him, but received the Charity of those who had known him in a plentiful Estate: And this Relation He made in Confirmation of that Discourse and Observation; and it made so deep an Impression upon the Chancellor, that afterwards, when the War was between England, and Holland, and France, and when many Gentlemen thought it good Husbandry to adventure in the setting out fuch Ships of War, He always diffuaded his Friends from that Traffick, relating to them this Story, of the Truth whereof He had fuch Evidence; and did in Truth moreover in his own Judgment believe, that all Engagements of that Kind were contrary to the Rules of Justice, and a good Conscience.

He goes to Flushing;

WHEN They came to Flushing, They thought it best to stay there, as the most likely Place to have Commerce with the Fleet; and They found there Colonel William Vavasour, who had by the Prince's Commission drawn some Companies of Foot together, and expected some Vessel to be(109) fent from the Fleet, for their Transportation; and Carteret was already dispatched, to inform the Prince of what had befallen the Treasurer and Chancellor, and that They waited his Commands at Flushing: And because Middleburgh would be as convenient to receive Intelligence, and more convenient for their Accommodation, They removed thither, and took a private Lodging; where, by having a Cook, and other Servants. They might make

from thense to Middleburgh ;

make their own Provisions. They had been at Middleburgh very few Days, before the Hind Frigate was fent by the Prince to bring them to the Fleet; with Direction that They should make as much Haste as was possible; and They had no Occasion to delay; but the Wind was so directly against them for two or three Days, that They could not put themselves on Board. It was now Embarks to about the Middle of July, when the Wind ap-attend the peared fair, and They presently embarked and River of weighed Anchor, and failed all the Night; but Thames, but is driven in the Morning the Wind changed, and blew fo back, hard a Gale, that They were compelled to turn about, and came before Night again to Flushing; whence They endeavoured three Times more to get into the Downs, from whence They might easily have got to the Fleet; but as often as They put to Sea, so often They were driven back; and once with so violent a Storm, that their Ship was in Danger, and was driven in under the Ramekins, a Fort near the Mouth of the River that goes to Middleburgh; whither They again repaired: And the Winds were so long contrary, that They received Order from the Prince to repair into Holland; for that his Highness resolved within very few Days, it being now towards the End of August, to carry the Fleet thither; as He shortly after did. And by this Means, the Lord Cottington and the Chancellor were not able to attend the Prince, whilft He remained with the Fleet within the River of Thames; but were well informed, when they came to him, of all that had passed there.

THE Lord Cottington and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as foon as They received Advertisement at Middleburgh, that the Prince resolved to return with the Fleet into Holland, made all the Arrives at Haste They could to the Hague, it being then the Hague, about

about the End of August; and came thither within one Day after the Prince's Arrival there.

The next Morning after the Lord Cottington and the Chancellor of the Exchequer came to the Hague, the Prince appointed his Council to meet together, to receive and deliberate upon a Message the Lord Lautherdale had brought him from the Parliament of Scotland, earnestly pressing him to repair forthwith to their Army; which was already entered into England, under the Command of the Duke of Hamilton—The Chancellor reproves the Lord Lautherdale for his insolent Behaviour before the Council. Vid. Hist. of the Reb. Folio, Vol. 3. P. 129, 130, &c.

THE Factions in the Prince's Family, and the great Animosity which Prince Rupert had against the Lord Colepepper, infinitely disturbed the Counsells; and perplexed the Lord Cottington and the Chancellor of the Exchequer — Colepepper had Passions and Instrmities which no Friends could restrain; and Prince Rupert, though very well inclined to the Chancellor, was absolutely governed by Herbert the Attorney General, who industriously cultivated his Prejudice to Colepepper — Hist. of the Reb. Folio, Vol. 3. P. 149, &c.

WHILST the Prince was at the Hague, He received the shocking Account of the Murder of the King his Father; and soon after, the Queen wrote to him from Paris, advising him (110) to repair into France, as soon as possible; and desiring him not to swear any Persons to be of his Council, till She could speak with him: But before He received her Letter, He had already caused those of his Father's Council, who had long attended him, to be sworn of his Privy Council; adding

adding only Mr. Long his Secretary. He had no Mind to go into France; and it was evident that He could not be long able to reside at the Hague, an Agent from the Parliament being there at that very Time; so that it was Time to think of some other Retreat. Ireland was then thought most adviseable; some favourable Accounts having been received from thence of the Transactions of the Marquis of Ormond and Lord Inchiquin, and of the Arrival of Prince Rupert at Kinsale with the Fleet. Hist. of the Reb. Folio, Vol. 3. P. 216.

THE Chancellor of the Exchequer was sent to confer with the Marquis of Montrose in a Village near the Hague, upon the State of Affairs in Scotland. The Marquis came now into Holland to offer his Service to his Majesty; expecting that He would presently send him to Scotland with some Forces, to prepare the Way for his Majesty to follow after. Hist. of the Reb.

Folio, Vol. 3. P. 223, &c.

THE King declared his Resolution of going into Ireland, and Preparations were made for that Expedition; which however, from Accidents that afterwards fell out, did not take Effect. The Lord Cottington, wishing to avoid the Fatigue of fuch Expeditions, took that Occasion to confer with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, upon the Expediency of the King's fending an Embassy into Spain; and proposed that himself and the Chancellor should be appointed Ambasfadours to that Court, to which the Chancellor confented; and upon the Lord Cottington's Representation of the Matter to the King, his Majesty soon after publickly declared his Resolution to fend those Two, Ambassadours Extrordinary into Spain. Hift. of the Reb. Folio, Vol. 3. P. 234, &c.

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The Murmurs
of the Court
on his being
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Amhassadour
to Spain.

THIS was no fooner known, but all kind of People, who agreed in nothing else, murmured and complained of this Counsel; and the more, because it had never been mentioned, or debated in Council. Only the Scots were very glad of it (Montrose excepted) believing that when the Chancellor was gone, their beloved Covenant would not be so irreverently mentioned, and that the King would be wrought upon to withdraw all Countenance and Favour from the Marquis of Montrose; and the Marquis himself looked upon it as a deferting him, and complying with the other Party; and from that Time, though They lived with Civility towards each other, He withdrew very much of his Confidence, which He had formerly reposed in him. They who loved him were forry for him, and themselves; They thought He deserted a Path He had long trod, and was well acquainted with; and was henceforward to move extra Sphæram Activitatis, in an Office He had not been acquainted with; and then They should want his Credit to fupport, and confirm them in the King's Favour and Grace: And there were many who were very forry when They heard it, out of particular Duty to the King; who being young, They thought might be without that Counfel, and Advertisement, which They knew well He would still administer to him.

No Man was more angry, and offended with the Counsel than the Lord Colepepper; who would have been very glad to have gone himself in the Employment, if He could have persuaded the Lord Cottington to have accepted his Company, which (111) He would by no Means do; and though He and the Chancellor were not thought to have the greatest Kindness for each other, yet He knew He could agree with no other Man so well in Business; and was very unwilling He should be from the Person

Person of the King. But the Chancellor himself, His own Confrom the Time that the King had fignified his office, own Pleasure to him, was exceedingly pleased with the Commission; and did believe that He should in some Degree improve his Understanding, and very much refresh his Spirits, by what He should learn by the one, and by his Absence from being continually conversant with those Wants which could never be severed from that Court, and that Company which would be always corrupted by those Wants. And so He sent for his Wife and Children, to meet him at Antwerp, where He intended They should reside whilst He continued in Spain, and where They were like to find some Civilities in Respect of his Employment.

THE Ambassadours took Leave of the King before the Middle of May, and went to Antwerp, where the Chancellor's Wife and Family were arrived, who were to remain there during his Embassy — After staying two or three Days at Antwerp, They went to Brussels, to deliver their Credentials to the Arch-Duke, and to the Duke of Lorraine, and to visit the Spanish Ministers there, &c. Hist. of the Reb. Folio, Vol. 3. P. 240.

WHEN the Ambassadours had dispatched all their Business at Brussels, They returned to Antwerp, to negotiate the Remittance of their Money to Madrid. Hift. of the Reb. Folio, Vol. 3. P. 242.

THE Queen is much displeased, that the King had taken any Resolutions, before She was confulted, and imputed all that had been done principally to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; fuspecting He meant to exclude her from meddling in the Affairs. Hift. of the Reb. Folio, Vol. 3. P. 242.

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LORD Cottington and the Chancellor, hearing that the King was on his Way to France, resolve to defer going to St. Germains, till the King's first Interview with the Queen should be over.

ABOUT a Week after the King left Bruffels, the two Ambassadours prosecuted their Journey • to Paris; staid only one Day there; and then went to St. Germains, where the King, and the Queen his Mother, with both their Families, and the Duke of York then were - They found that Court full of Jealoufy, and Diforder -The Queen much troubled at the King's Behaviour to her, as if He had no Mind that She should interfere in his Affairs - She now attributes this Reservedness of the King towards her, more to the Influence of some Body else, than to the Chancellor of the Exchequer - He had a private Audience of the Queen - She complained of the King's Unkindness to her, and of the great Credit Mr. Elliot (one of his Majesty's Grooms of the Bedchamber) had with the King. Hist. of the Reb. Folio, Vol. 3. P. 243, Gc.

ABOUT the Middle of September, the King left St. Germains, and began his Journey towards Jersey, and the Queen removed to Paris — The two Ambassadours attended her Majesty thither, and prepared for their Journey into Spain. Hist. of the Reb. Folio, Vol. 3. P.

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The Queen is displeased at his going to Spain. DURING the Time of their short Stay at Paris, the Queen used the Chancellor very graciously; but still expressed Trouble that He was sent on that Embassy, which She said, would be fruitless, as to any Advantage the King would receive from it; and She said, She must confess, that though She was

(112) was not confident of his Affection and Kindness towards her, yet She believed that He did wish that the King's Carriage towards her should be always fair and respectful; and that She did desire that He might be always about his Majesty's Person: not only because She thought He understood the Business of England better than any Body else, but because She knew that He loved the King, and would always give him good Counfel, towards his living virtuously; and that She thought He had more Credit with him, than any other, who would

deal plainly and honeftly with him.

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THERE was a Passage at that Time, of which He used to speak often, and looked upon as a' great Honour to him: The Queen one Day amongst some of her Ladies, in whom She had most Confidence, expressed some Sharpness towards a Lord of the King's Council, whom She named not, who She faid, always gave her the fairest Words, and promised her every Thing She desired, and had perfuaded her to affect somewhat that She had before no Mind to; and yet She was well affured, that when the same was proposed to the King on her Behalf, He was the only Man who disfuaded the King from granting it. Some of the Ladies feemed to have the Curiofity to know who it was, which the Queen would not tell; one of them who was known to have a Friendship for him, said, She The Queen's hoped it was not the Chancellor; to which her Sincerity. Majesty replied with some Quickness, that She might be fure it was not He, who was fo far from making Promises, or giving fair Words, and flattering her, that She did verily believe, that if He thought her to be a Whore, He would tell her of it; which when that Lady told him, He was not difpleased with the Testimony.

THE two Ambassadours began their Journey from Paris, on Michaelmass Day; and continued it without one Day's Rest to Bourdeaux — Hist. of

Reb. Folio, Vol. 3. P. 253.

THEY continue their Journey to Bayonne; and from thence to St. Sebastian's; where They were told by the Corregidor, that He had received Directions from the Secretary of State, to persuade them to remain there till the King's farther Pleasure might be known; and They received a Packet from Sir Benjamin Wright at Madrid, inclosing a Pass for them, under the Title of Ambassadours from the Prince of Wales. They immediately fent an Express to the Court, complaining of their Treatment, and defiring to know, whether their Persons were unacceptable to his Catholick Majesty; and if otherwise, They desired They might be treated in the Manner due to the Honour and Dignity of the King their Master. They received an Answer full of Civilty, imputing the Error, in the Style of their Pass, to the Negligence or Ignorance of the Secretary; and new Passes were fent to them in the proper Style, with Affurance, that They should find a very good Welcome from his Majesty - They left St. Sebaftian's about the Middle of November - Hift, of the Reb. Folio, Vol. 3. P. 254, 255.

When They came to Alcavendas, within three Leagues of Madrid, Sir Benjamin Wright came to them, and informed them, that all Things were in the State they were, when He writ to them at St. Sebaftian's; that no House was yet prepared for their Reception; and that there was an evident Want of Attention for them in the Court; the Spanish Ambassadour in England having done them ill Offices, lest their good Reception in Spain might incense the Parliament — After a Week's Stay in that little Town, They accepted

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of Sir Benjamin Wright's Invitation to his House at Madrid; They went privately thither, to refide incognito - The Court knew of their Arrival. but took no Notice of it - Lord Cottington defired, and obtained a private Audience of Don Lewis de Haro - Don Lewis excused the Omissions towards the Ambaffadours, on Pretence that the Fieftas, for their new Queen's Arrival, had engroffed the whole Attention of all the Officers about the Court; and promifed immediate Reparation - Lord Cottington returned Home well fatisfied - The Ambassadours are invited to see the Exercises of the Fiestas; and the Chancellor accordingly went to the Place affigned. Hift. of the Reb. Folio, Vol. 3. P. 256, 257.

THE Masquerade is an Exercise They learned from Description of the Moors; performed by Squadrons of Horse, seem-the Masqueing to charge each other with great Fierceness; with Bucklers in their left Hands, and a Kind of Cane in their right: which, when They come within little more than a Horse's Length, They throw with all the Strength They can; and against them They defend themselves with very broad Bucklers; and as foon as They have thrown their Darts, They wheel about in a full Gallop, till They can turn to receive the like Affault from those whom They had charged; and so several Squadrons of twenty or five and twenty Horse run round, and charge each other. It hath at first the Appearance of a Martial Exercise; the Horses are very beautiful, and well adorned; the Men richly clad, and must be good Horsemen, otherwise They could not conduct the quick Motions and Turns of their Horses; all the rest is too childish; the Darts being nothing else but plain Bulrushes of the biggest Growth. After this, They run the Course; which is like our running at the Ring; fave that two run still together, and the **fwifrer**

swifter hath the Prize; a Post dividing them at the End: From the Start They run their Horses full Speed about fifty Paces, and the Judges are at that Post to determine who is first at the End.

the Toros.

Description of THE next Day, and so for two or three Days together, both the Ambassadours had a Box prepared for them, to see the Toros; which is a Spectacle very wonderful. Here the Place was very noble, being the Market-Place, a very large Square, built with handsome Brick Houses, which had all Balconies, which were adorned with Tapestry, and very beautiful Ladies. Scaffolds were built round to the first Story; the lower Rooms being Shops, and for ordinary Use; and in the Division of those Scaffolds, all the Magistrates and Officers of the Town knew their Places. The Pavement of the Place was all covered with Gravel, which in Summer Time was upon those Occasions watered by Carts charged with Hogsheads of Water. As soon as the King comes, fome Officers clear the whole Ground from the common People; fo that there is no Man feen upon the Plain, but two or three Alguazills, Magiftrates with their small white Wands. Then one of the four Gates which lead into the Streets is opened; at which the Torreadors enter, all Persons of Quality richly clad, and upon the best Horses in Spain, every one attended by eight, or ten, or more-Lackeys, all clinquant with Gold and Silver Lace, who carry the Spears, which their Masters are to use against the Bulls; and with this Entry many of the common People break in, for which fometimes They pay very dear. The Persons on Horseback have all Cloaks folded up upon their left Shoulder, the least Disorder of which, much more the letting it fall, is a very great Difgrace; and in that grave Order, They march to the Place where the King fits, and after They have made the Reverences,

They

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They place themselves at a good Distance from one

another, and expect the Bull.

(114) THE Bulls are brought in the Night before from the Mountains, by People used to that Work; who drive them into the Town when Nobody is in the Streets, into a Pen made for them, which hath a Door that opens into that large Space; the Key whereof is fent to the King; which the King, when He fees every Thing ready, throws to an Alguazill, who carries it to the Officer that keeps the Door; and He causes it to be opened when a single Bull is ready to come out. When the Bull enters, the common People who fit over the Door, or near it, strike him, or throw short Darts with sharp Points of Steel to provoke him to Rage: He commonly runs with all his Fury against the first Man he sees on Horseback; who watches him so carefully, and avoids him fo dexterously, that when the Spectators believe him to be even between the Horns of the Bull, He avoids him by the quick Turn of his Horse, and with his Lance strikes the Bull upon a Vein that runs through his Pole, with which in a Moment he falls down dead. But this fatal Stroke can never be struck, but when the Bull comes fo near upon the Turn of the Horse, that his Horn even touches the Rider's Leg; and so is at such a Distance, that He can shorten his Lance, and use the full Strength of his Arm in the Blow; and They who are the most skilful in the Exercise, do frequently kill the Beast with such an exact Stroke; infomuch as in a Day, two or three fall in that Manner: But if They miss the Vein, it only gives a Wound that the more enrages him.

SOMETIMES the Bull runs with fo much Fierceness (for if he escapes the first Man, he runs upon the rest as They are in his Way) that he gores the Horse with his Horns, so that his Guts come out, and He falls, before the Rider can get from his

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Back.

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Back. Sometimes, by the Strength of his Neck, he raises Horse and Man from the Ground, and throws both down; and then the greatest Danger is another Gore upon the Ground. In any of these Difgraces, or any other, by which the Rider comes to be dismounted, He is obliged in Honour to take his Revenge upon the Bull by his Sword, and upon his Head; towards which the Standers by affift him, by running after the Bull, and hocking him, by which he falls upon his hinder Legs; but before that Execution can be done, a good Bull hath his Revenge upon many poor Fellows. Sometimes he is so unruly that Nobody dares to attack him; and then the King calls for the Mastiffs, whereof two are let out at a Time, and if they cannot master him, but are themselves killed, as frequentby they are, the King then, as the last Refuge, calls for the English Mastiss, of which They seldom turn out above one at a Time, and he rarely miffes taking the Bull, and holding him by the Nofe, till the Men run in; and after They have hocked him, They quickly kill him.

In one of those Days there were no fewer than fixteen Horses, as good as any in Spain, the worst of which would that very Morning have yielded three hundred Pistoles, killed, and four or five Men; besides many more of both hurt, and some Men remained perpetually maimed: For after the Horsemen have done as much as They can, They withdraw themselves, and then some accustomed nimble Fellows, to whom Money is thrown when They perform their Feats with Skill, stand to receive the Bulls, whereof the worst are reserved to the last; and it is a wonderful Thing to fee with what Steadiness those Fellows will stand a full Career of the Bull, and by a little quick Motion upon one Foot, avoid him, and lay a Hand upon his Horn, as if They guided him from them; but then the next Standers by, who have not the same Acti(115) vity, commonly pay for it; and there is no Day
without much Mischief. It is a very barbarous Exercise, and Triumph; in which so many Mens
Lives are lost, and always ventured; but so rooted
in the Affections of that Nation, that it is not in
the King's Power, They say, to suppress it; though
if He disliked it enough, He might forbear to be

present at it.

THERE are three Festival Days in the Year, whereof Midsummer is one, on which the People hold it to be their Right to be treated with these Spectacles; not only in great Cities, where They are never difappointed, but in very ordinary Towns, where there are Places provided for it. Besides those ordinary annual Days, upon any extraordinary Accidents of Joy, as at this Time for the Arrival of the Queen, upon the Birth of the King's Children, or any fignal Victory, these Triumphs are repeated, which no Ecclefiastical Censures or Authority can suppress or discountenance; for Pope Pius the V, in the Time of Philip the II, and very probably with his Approbation, if not upon his Defire, published a Bull against the Toros in Spain, which is still in Force; in which He declared, that Nobody should be capable of Christian Burial, who lost his Life at those Spectacles, and that every Clergyman, who should be present at them, stood excommunicated ipso facto; and yet there is always one of the largest Galleries assigned to the Office of the Inquifition and the chief of the Clergy, which is always filled; besides that many Religious Men in their Habits get other Places; only the Jesuits out of their Submiffion to the supreme Authority of the Pope, are never present there; but on those Days, do always appoint some such solemn Exercise to be performed, that obliges their whole Body to be together.

2 / THOUGH

The Lord Cottington and the Chancellor of the Exchequer are vifited by baffadours at Madrid before their Audience,

THOUGH it is not the Course for the Ambassa: dours to make their Visits to those who come last, before They receive their first Audience from the King; yet the very Night They came to the Town, the other Am- the Venetian Ambassadour sent to congratulate their Arrival, and to know what Hour They would affign of the next Day to receive a Visit from him: To which They returned their Acknowledgments: and that when They had obtained their Audience of the King, They would be ready to receive that Honour from him. However, the very next Day He came to visit them; and He was no sooner gone, but the German Ambassadour not sending Notice till He was at the Bottom of the Stairs, likewife came to them; and then the other Ambassadours, and Publick Ministers took their Times to make their Vifits, without attending the Audience.

Some Account of the Ambaffadours then at Madrid.

Of Julio Rospigliofi.

Of the Marquis of Grana,

THERE was one Thing very notable, that all the foreign Ministers residing then in Madrid (the English Ambassadours and the Resident of Denmark only excepted) were Italians; and all, but the Venetian, Subjects of the Great Duke. Julio Rospigliosi Nuntio for the Pope, was of Pistoja, and so a Subject to the Duke of Florence; a grave Man, and at that Time, fave that his Health was not good, like to come to be, what He was afterwards, Pope, as He was Clement the IX. The Emperor's Ambassadour, the Marquis of Grana, was likewise an Italian, and a Subject of Florence; He had been General of one of the Emperor's Armies, and was fent afterwards Ambassadour to Madrid; He was a Man of great Parts; and the removing the Conde-Duke Olivarez from Court was imputed to his Artifice. He made the Match between the King and the present Queen, for which He expected to have the Cap of a Cardinal; and had received it, if He had not died before the following Creation; the Cardinal of Hesse being nominated by the Emperor upon:

his Death. He was a Man of an imperious and (116) infolent Nature, and capable of any Temptation, and no Body was more glad of his Death than his own Servants, over whom He was a great Tyrant.

THE Ambassadour of Venice, Pietro Basadonna, Of the Vene-a noble Venetian, was a Man, as all that Nation is, sadour. of great Civility, and much Profession; He was the first who told the Ambassadours, that the King their Master had a Resident at Venice, which was Mr. Killigrew; which They did not at first believe, having before They left St. Germains, diffuaded the King from that Purpose; but afterwards his Majesty was prevailed upon, only to gratify him, that in that Capacity, He might borrow Money of English Merchants for his own Subsistence; which He did, and Nothing to the Honour of his Master; but was at last compelled to leave the Republick, for his vicious Behaviour; of which the Venetian Ambaffadour complained to the King, when He came afterwards to Paris.

THE Ambaffadour of the King of Poland was like- Of the Polith wife a Florentine; who was much in Favour with the King Uladiflaus, from whom He was fent; and continued by King Casimir. He had lived in great Splendour; but by his vicious Course of Life, and some Miscarriages, He fell very low, and was revoked with some Circumstances of Dishonour. He was a Man of a great Wit; if it had not served him to very ill Purposes. The Ambassadour of Florence, was of the Ama Subject of his Master, and an Abbot, a grave Florence. Man; and though He was frequently called Ambaffadour, He was in Truth but Resident; which was discovered by a Contest He had with the Denmark Resident for Place, who alleged that the other was no more than Resident; which was true, and made the Discovery that the Florentines send no Ambassadours to Madrid, because They are not suffered to cover, which They use to do in many other P Courts.

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of the Arch- Courts. The Arch-Duke of Inspruck's Minister was Duke of In-fpruck's Mi- likewise a Florentine, and had been bred in Spain, and was a Knight of the Order; and supported that Character upon a small Assignation from his Master, for some Benefit and Advantage it gave him in Negotiations, and Pretences He had in that Court.

Of the Refident of Denmark.

THE Resident of Denmark was Don Henrique Williamson (He was afterwards called Rosewell) who came Secretary to Hannibal Zested; who had been the Year before Ambassadour in that Court, and lived in extraordinary Splendour, as all the Northern Ministers do; who have not their Allowance from the King, but from a Revenue that is purposely set aside for that Kind of Service. When He went away, He left this Gentleman to remain there as Resident. He was a grave, and a fober Man, wifer than most of his Nation; and lived with much more Plenty, and with a better Retinue than any other Minister of that Rank in that Court.

THEY had not been many Days in Madrid, when Don Lewis sent them the News of the Imprisonment of the Prince of Conde, Prince of Conti, and the Duke of Longueville; and that Marshal Turenhe was fled into Flanders; fo much the Cardinal had improved his Condition from the Time that They had left Paris. There was yet no House provided for them, which They took very heavily; and believed that it might advance that Business, if They had once a publick Reception as Ambassadours; and therefore They refolved to demand an Audience. Don Lewis came to be advertised, that the Ambasfadours had prepared Mourning for themselves and all their Train, against their Audience, which was true; for They thought it the most proper Dress to appear in, and to demand Affistance to revenge the Murder of their Master, it being yet within the Year: But Don Lewis fent to them, that He hoped, that when the whole Court was in Gala, upon the Joy

Joy of the Marriage of the King, and to give the (117) Queen a cheerful Reception, They would not difhonour the Festival by appearing in Luto, which the King could not but take unkindly; which He faid, He thought to advertise them of, out of Friendship, and without any Authority. Whereupon, as well to comply in an Affair which seemed to have somewhat of Reason in it, as out of Apprehension, that The English from hence They might take Occasion to defer their demand their Audience, They changed their Purpose, and caused Audience, new Cloaths to be made; and then fent to demand their Audience.

Montpelier, Ift of March. 1670.



Part V. Enways which Albertania 17 lower the blandage of the Sayer and to give the of Queen, a cheerful Reception. They tropic not raise the land was the something in the first out money Ling could not due to be able to be bounded and Il chosque mayor Chica Consult of the Hay at member V: Wifedish via modice bas Comply of a second the which the comply of the second what of Renion in its 13 out, it extremented that say The wind read or such as Alas Inguis you'll read the s Andlesde, Tay of the Charles of the Control of the a remained their A Common F. Asset To Str Control Services

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The LIFE of

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON

From his Birth to the Restoration of the ROYAL FAMILY in the Year 1660.

PART the SIXTH.

HE Ambassadours were conducted in Form to their Audience of the King of Spain, and afterwards of the Queen, and Infanta; and at last a House was provided for them. Hist. of the Reb. Folio, Vol. 3. P. 259.

THEY perceived that Court was more inclined to cultivate a strict Friendship with the new Commonwealth of England, than with the King their Master, from an Opinion of his Condition being irrecoverable - After all Ceremonies were over, the Ambassadours had a private Audience of the King, to whom They delivered a Memorial containing their Propositions, and Demands -They received shortly after such an Answer, as was Evidence enough to them, how little They were to expect from any avowed Friendship of that Crown - They rested for some Time without giving themselves any farther Trouble (History of the Rebellion, Folio, Vol.3. P.261, 262.) and emoyed themselves in no unpleasant Retreat from Business, if They could have put off the Thought

The Chancellor of the Exchequer applies himself to the learning Spanish.

of the miserable Condition of their Master, and their own particular Concernments in their own Country. The Chancellor betook himself to the learning their Language, by reading their Books, of which He made a good Collection; and informing himself the best He could, of their Government, and the Administration of their Justice: And there began his Devotions upon the Psalms, which He sinished in another Banishment.

PRINCE Rupert came upon the Coast of Spain, with the Fleet under his Command; and wrote to the Chancellor, acquainting him, that He had brought away all the Fleet from Ireland; and defiring him to procure Orders from the Court, that He might find a good Reception an all the Spanish Ports, if his Occasions brought him thither - The News of a Fleet of the King of England being on their Coast, at a Time when their Galleons were expected Home, occasioned great Alteration in the Behaviour of that Court; and all that the Ambaffadours afked, was eafily granted; but that feeming favourable Disposition was of short Duration; for on the Arrival afterwards of a ftrong Fleet sent out by the Parliament, and the Commander thereof writing an infolent Letter to the King of Spain, the Ambaffadours found (119) themselves less regarded - Hist. of the Reb. Folio, Vol. 3. P. 262, 263.

THE King had now determined to go into Sectland, upon the Invitation of the Council, and Parliament of that Kingdom; and the Ambassadours, who in Reality disapproved of that Measure, notified it to the Court of Spain, as a happy Turn in the King's Affairs; setting forth, that his Majesty was now Master of that Kingdom; and therefore might reasonably hope to be restored to the Possession of the rest of his Dominions

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— The Court of Spain then began again to treat the Ambassadours with more Regard—Hist. of the

Reb. Folio, Vol. 3. P. 269.

UPON the News of Cromwell's Victory over the Marquis of Argyle's Army in Scotland, the Ambaffadours received a Meffage from the King of Spain, desiring them to depart, since their Prefence in the Court would be prejudicial to his Affairs - They imagined this proceeded from the Expectation of the Arrival of an Ambassadour from the Commonwealth of England, which was then reported; but They knew afterwards that the true Cause of this Impatience to get rid of them was, that their Minister in England, having purchased many of the King's Pictures, and rich Furniture, had fent them to the Groyne; from whence They were expected to arrive about that Time, at Madrid: Which They thought could not decently be brought to the Palace, while the Ambassadours remained at the Court - Hist. of the Reb. Folio, Vol. 3. P. 295.

LORD Cottington resolves, and obtains Leave to stay as a private Man in Spain; but is not permitted to reside at Madrid. Hist. of the Reb. Fo-

lio, Vol. 3. P. 297.

The other Ambassadour made his Journey by The Chancel-Alcala; and staid a Day there, to see that Univer-lor of the Exchequer begins sity, where the College, and other Buildings made his Journey by the Cardinal Ximenes, are well worth the seeing; from Madrid, and went through the Kingdom of Navarre to Pampeluna, where the Vice-King, the Duke of Escalona, received him; and lodged him two Days in the Palace; and treated him with great Civility. There He was seized upon with the Gout; yet He continued his Journey by Mules, there being no Passage by Coach or Litter, over the Pirenees, to Bayonne; where He was forced to keep his Bed, and to bleed,

for

for many Days; but was so impatient of Delay, that after a Week's Rest, and before He was sit for the Journey, He put himself into a Litter, and reached Bourdeaux; where He was forced to follow the Prescription of Dr. Lopez, a very learned Jew, and Physician; and yet went too soon from thence too; so that when He came to Paris, He was cast into his Bed by a new Desluxion of the Gout, more violent than ever.

And arrives at Paris.

The Queen's Complaint to bim of the Duke of York.

As foon as He had recovered any Strength, He waited upon the Queen Mother, who received him very graciously; complained very much to him of the Duke of York; who having been left with her by the King when He parted with her Majesty at Beauvais, had expresly against her Confent and Command, transported himself to Brussels, upon Imaginations which had no Foundation, and upon some Treaty with the Duke of Lorraine, which She was fure could produce no good Effect. Her Majesty seemed most offended with Sir Edward Herbert the Attorney General, and Sir George Ratcliffe, as the two Persons who prevailed with the Duke, and had engaged him in that Journey, and governed him in it, against the Advice of the Lord Byron, who was his Governour; and that being disappointed of what They had unreasonably looked for at(120) Bruffels, They had carried his Royal Highness into Holland, to his Sifter, who fuffered much by his Presence; the States of Holland being resolved not to fuffer him to reside within their Province; the Prince of Orange being lately dead of the Small Pox, and his Son, who was born after his Death, being an Infant, and depending so entirely upon the good Will of the States; and therefore the Princess was much troubled that the coming of the Duke her Brother into those Parts gave the States any Occasion of Offence. The Queen faid, that She had writ to the Duke to return into France, but

but had received no Answer; and therefore She defired the Ambassadour, as soon as He should come into those Parts (for He meant to go to Antwerp, where his Wife and Children then were) that He would make a Journey to the Hague, to reduce the Duke, and to prevail with him to return into France; which the Ambassadour could not refuse to promise.

HE found there the Queen's own Family in some Disorder, upon some Declaration She had made. that the Protestant Chaplain should be no more permitted to perform his Function in the Louvre: where the Queen's Court refided, and where there was a lower Room which had been always used as a Chapel, from the Time of the Prince's first coming thither, to that Time; and where twice a Day, the Common Prayer was read to those who were Protestants in both Families; and now the Queen had fignified to Dr. Cofins (who was the Chaplain affign- Dr. Cofins ed by the late King, to attend in her Majesty's Fa-forbid to off mily, for the Protestant Part of it) that He should Protestants in be no more permitted to have the Use of that the Queen's Room.

THE Chancellor of the Exchequer took this Oc- The Chancelcasion to speak with the Queen; and put her in lor speaks to Mind of some Promise She had made him, when that Subject. He took his Leave of her to go for Spain, that She would not withdraw her Stipend, which She allowed to Dr. Cosins; whereby He must be compelled to withdraw; and so the Protestant Part of her Family would be deprived of their publick Devotions; which Promise She had observed to that Time: But if now the Room should be taken from that Use, it would be the fame Thing, as if the Chaplain was turned away. He put her Majesty in Mind of the ill Impression it might make in the Hearts of the Protestants in England, who retained their Respects and Duty for her Majesty; and of what pernicious

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Consequence it might prove to the King, who was still in Scotland in a hopeful Condition, and depended most upon the Affections of his Protestant Subjects of England; and in the last Place, whether it might not prove a better Argument to those, who were suspected by her to mislead the Duke of York, to dissuade him from returning to her, since She would not permit him to have the Exercise of his Religion. The Queen seemed to think that what He said was not without Reason, and confessed that She was not the Author of this new Resolution, which She did not believe to be seasonable.

The Queen's Answer.

MR. Walter Mountague, who had some Years ago changed his Religion, and was become Catholick, after He had sustained a long Imprisonment in the Tower of London, procured his Release from thence, upon Assurance that He would no more return into England; and so came into France, where He was very well known in the French as well as the English Court, and in great Reputation and Esteem with both Queens. He appeared a Man wholly restrained from all the Vanity and Levity of his former Life, and perfectly mortified to the Pleasures of the World, which He had enjoyed in a very great Measure and Excess.

Austerity; and seemed to have no Affection, or Ambition for Preferment, but to live within himself upon the very moderate Exhibition He had lest to him by his Father; and in this melancholick Retreat He had newly taken the Order of Priesthood; which was in Truth, the most reasonable Way to satisfy his Ambition, if He had any lest; for both the Queen Regent, and the Cardinal, could not but liberally provide for his Support in that Profession; which They did very shortly after: And this devout Profession, and new Function much improved the

Interest

Interest and Credit He always had in his old Miftress; who very much hearkened to him in Cases of Conscience: And She confessed to the Chancellor, that He was a little too bigotted in this Affair; and had not only pressed her very passionately to remove the Scandal of having a Protestant Chapel in her House, as inconsistent with a good Conscience, but had likewise inflamed the Queen Regent with the same Zeal; who had very earnestly pressed and importuned her Majesty no longer to permit that Offence to be given to the Catholick Religion. And upon this Occasion She lamented the Death of her late Confessor, Father Philips, who, She faid, was a very discreet Man, and would never fuffer her to be troubled with fuch Infusions and Scruples. In Conclusion, She wished him to confer with Mr. Mountague, and to try if He could withdraw him from that Afperity in that Particular, to which Purpose, the Chancellor conferred with him, but without any Effect.

HE faid, the House was the King of France's, The Chancelwho only permitted the Queen to live there; and ler confers that the Queen Regent thought herself bound in Mountague Conscience no longer to suffer that Reproach, of thereon, but which She had never had Information till very late-fiel. ly: That if the Duke of York came thither, there was no Thought or Purpose to deny him the Exercise of his Religion; He might have his Chaplain say Prayers to him in his own Chamber, or in fome Room adjacent, which served likewise to all other Purposes; but that the setting a Room apart, as this was, for that Service, was upon the Matter dedicating it as a Chapel, for the Exercise of a Religion, contrary to what was established in that Kingdom; which the King of France would not fuffer to be done in a House of his, though the King should return thither again. He undervalued all the Confiderations which were offered of England, or of a Protestant

Protestant Interest; as if He thought them all, as no Doubt He did, of no Importance to the King's Restoration, which could never be effected but by that Interest which was quite opposite to it. When He gave the Queen an Account of this Discourse, He prevailed so far with her, that She promised, in Cafe She should be compelled to take away that Room, as She forefaw She should be, the Family should be permitted to meet in some other Room: and if the Duke of York came, the Place that should be appointed for his Devotions, should serve for all the rest to resort to.

As foon as the Chancellor had recovered his

The Chancellor goes to Bruffels,

Strength, He took Leave of the Queen, and purfued his Journey for Flanders. At Bruffels He staid till He had an Audience of the Arch-Duke, to whom He had Letters from the King of Spain, and Don Lewis; by which the King signified his Pleafure, that He should reside any where in those Provinces He best liked, until He could conveniently repair to the King his Master; and that in the mean Time He should enjoy all the Privileges due to an Ambassadour: And so He had his Audience in that Quality. He spake in Latin, and the Arch-Duke answering in the same, assured him of all the Re-Arch-Duke : fpects He could pay him, whilft He staid in those Parts; and thereupon He went to his Family at Antwerp, and kept that Character till the King's(122)

And refides with bis Family at Antwerp in the Character of Means whereof He enjoyed many Privileges, and

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> Exemptions in the Town; and had the Freedom of his Chapel, not only for his own Devotions, but for the Refort of all the Protestants, who were then in the Town; whereof the Marquis of Newcastle, the Earl of Norwich, and Sir Charles Cavendish were the principal; who came always on the Sundays, and frequently on the Week Days, to the Common Prayer, to the Grief of many English, and Irish Ro-

coming into France, and his Return to him; by

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man Catholicks; who used all the malicious Artifices They could, to procure that Liberty to be restrained; and which could not have been enjoyed under any other Concession, than by the Privilege of an Ambassadour.

WHILST He was preparing to make a Journey to the Hague to wait upon the Duke of York, according to the Promise He had made to the Queen. He received Information from the Hague, that his Royal Highness would be at Breda such a Day; He goes to the whereupon He was glad to shorten his Journey, Duke of York at Breda, to and at the Day, to kiss his Hands there; where He persuade bim found his Highness newly arrived, and in an Incli-to return to nation enough to return to the Queen; fo that the Chancellor had no great Task to confirm him in that Resolution; nor in Truth did He know what else to do: However all about him were very glad of the Chancellor's Presence, every Body hoping to get him to their Party, that He might be ready to make a fair Report of their Behaviour to the King; whom They knew the Queen would endeavour to incense against them.

NEVER little Family was torn into fo many Pieces Some Account and Factions. The Duke was very young; yet lov- of the Duke of York's Faed Intrigues fo well, that He was too much inclined mily. to hearken to any Men, who had the Confidence to make bold Propositions to him. The King had appointed him to remain with the Queen; and to obey her in all Things, Religion only excepted. The Lord Byron was his Governour, ordained to be fo by his Father, and very fit for that Province; being a very fine Gentleman, well bred both in France and Italy, and perfectly versed in both Languages; of great Courage and Fidelity; and in all Respects qualified for the Trust; but his being abfent in the King's Service, when the Duke made his Escape out of England, and Sir John Berkley being then put about him, all Pains had been taken Vol. I.

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to lessen his Esteem of the Lord Byron; and Sir John Berkley, knowing that He could no longer remain Governour when the Lord Byron came thither, and hearing that He was in his Journey, infused into the Duke's Mind, that it was a great lessening of his Dignity at that Age (when He was not above fourteen Years of Age, and backward enough for that Age) to be under a Governour; and fo partly by disesteeming the Person, and partly by reproaching the Office, He grew less inclined to the Person of that good Lord, than He should have been.

Bur what Title foever any Body had, the whole Authority was in the Queen, not only by the Direction of the King, but by inevitable Necessity; for there was no Kind of Fund affigned for the Support of the Duke; but He depended entirely upon the Queen his Mother's Bounty, who had no more affigned for herself, than They, to whom the Management thereof was committed, knew well how to dispose of, nor was it enough to serve their Occasions; so that her Majesty herself certainly spent less upon her own Person, or in any Thing relating to herself, than ever any Queen, or Lady of a very eminent Degree did. This visible and total Dependance of the Duke upon his Mother, made her Majesty the less apprehensive of his doing any Thing contrary to her liking; and there was not that Care for the general Part of his Education, nor that In-(123) dulgence to his Person, as ought to have been; and the Queen's own Carriage and Behaviour towards him was at least severe enough, as it had been before to the King, in the Time that He was Prince; which then, and now gave Opportunity to those, who were not themselves at Ease, to make many Infusions; which, how contrary soever to their Duties, were not so unreasonable, as to be easily rejected, or to make no Impression.

The King at his going from Beauvais in his Voyage for Scotland, had given fome Recommendation to the Duke his Brother of Sir George Ratcliffe, to whose Care his Father had once designed to commit him, when He meant to have sent him into Ireland; and his Majesty had likewise, at the same Time at Beauvais, made some Promise to Sir George Ratcliffe of some Place about his Brother, when his Family should be settled, of which there was then little Appearance: However it was enough to entitle him to give his frequent Attendance upon the Duke; and the general Reputation He had, of having been the Person of the nearest Trust with the Earl of Strafford, might well dispose the Duke to think him a wise Man, and the better to esteem

any Thing He faid to him.

23)

SIR Edward Herbert thought himself the wisest Man that followed the King's Fortune, and was always angry that He had no more to do; and now Prince Rupert was absent, endeavoured all He could, to get Credit with the Duke of York; and came very frequently to him, and held him in long Whifpers, which the Duke eafily indulged to him, out of a real Belief that He was a Man of great Wifdom and Experience. The Queen liked neither of these two; which They well enough discerning, grew into a Friendship, or rather a Familiarity together, though They were of the most different Natures and Humours imaginable: Ratcliffe being a Man very capable of Business; and if the Prosperity of his former Fortune had not raifed in him fome Fumes of Vanity and Self-conceitedness, was very fit to be advised with; being of a Nature confrant and fincere; which the other was not; yet They agreed well in the Design of making the Duke of York discontented, and weary of his Condition; which was not pleasant enough to be much delighted in.

THE

The Cause of THE News from England, of the State of the Duke of Affairs in Scotland, made most Men believe that ing left Paris. his Majesty was irrecoverably lost; and there was for fome Time a Rumour scattered abroad, and by many believed, that the King was dead. These two Gentlemen, upon the Fame of this, confulted together, whether, if the News were or should be true, the Duke of York, who must succeed, were in a good Place; and both concluded, that in that Case, it would not be fit that He should be with his Mother. Hereupon They persuaded the Duke, that it was not fit for him to remain idle in France, but to employ himself Abroad, whereby his Experience might be improved; and He might put himfelf into a Posture to be able to affift the King his Brother; or if any Misfortune should befal him, in fome Degree to provide for himself; and proposed to him, that He would resolve to make a Journey to Brussels, to advise and consult with the Duke of Lorraine, who was a Prince of great Wisdom, Wealth, and Courage; and being driven out of his own Country by too powerful and potent a Neighbour, had yet by his own Activity and Virtue made himfelf so considerable, that Spain depended upon his Army; and France itself would be glad of his Friendship; that He was very rich, and would not be only able to give the Duke good Counfel, but Affistance to make it effectual.

THE Duke without farther examining the Pro-(124) bability of the Design, which He concluded had been thought upon enough by two fuch wife Men, gave his full Confent to it; and They having likewife found Credit for so much Money as would defray the Charges of the Journey, and really believing that the King was dead, the Duke one Day told the Queen, that He was refolved to make a Journey to Bruffels to see the Duke of Lorraine; with which the Queen being surprised, used both her Reason

Reason and her Authority to dissuade him from it, but could not prevail by either; his Highness telling her very obstinately, that He would begin his Journey within two Days. She found that none of his Servants were privy to the Design, or were at all acquainted with the Purpose; and quickly discovered the two Counfellors; who having no Relation to his Service that She knew, were prepared to wait on him, and had drawn Dr. Steward (who was Dean of the Chapel to the King, and left behind, when his Majesty went for Scotland, with Direction to be with the Duke of York) to be of their

Party.

THE Doctor was a very honest, and learned Character of Gentleman; and most conversant in that Learning, Dr. Steward. which vindicated the Dignity and Authority of the Church, upon which his Heart was most entirely fet; not without some Prejudice to those, who thought there was any other Object to be more carefully pursued. Sir George Ratcliffe seemed to be of his Mind; and fo was looked upon by him as one of the best Friends of the Church, which was Virtue enough to cover many Defects. He told him of the Rumour of the Death of the King, and what Conference had been between him and the Attorney General upon it, which They both believed; and how necessary They thought it was for the Duke to be out of France, when the Certainty of that News should arrive: That They had spoken with the Duke of it, who seemed very well dispofed; yet They knew not how his Mother's Authority might prevail over his Obedience; and therefore wished that He would speak with the Duke, who had great Reverence for him in all Matters of Conscience, and remove any Scruples which might The Doctor did not think himself so much regarded by the Queen, as He expected to be; and did really believe the Case to be such as the other had

had informed him; and confirmed the Duke in his Refolution, notwithstanding any Thing his Mother should fay to the contrary; and the Queen could neither fay, or do any Thing to diffuade him from

the Journey.

THE Lord Byron his Governour, and Mr. Bennet his Secretary, both well liked by the Queen, and of great Confidence in each other, thought it their Duty to attend upon him. Sir John Berkley staid behind, as well to avoid the being inferiour to another, which He always abhorred, as to profecute an Amour, which He was newly embarked in; and Sir George Ratcliffe, and Sir Edward Herbert, and the good Doctor were fo to improve their Interest, that neither the Queen, or any who depended on her, might have any Credit with the Duke. Most of the inferiour Servants depended upon them, because They faw They had most Interest with their Master; and with these Thoughts and Resolutions, They all fet out from Bruffels; and these wild Notions were the true Reasons, and Foundation of that Journey, which many fober Men fo much wondered at then, and fo much censured afterwards.

WHEN his Highness came to Brussels, He was accommodated in the House of Sir Henry De Vic. the King's Resident there: And He was no sooner there, but They began to model his House, and regulate his Family; towards which, Sir George Rat-(125) cliffe was defigned to manage all the Affairs of Money; the Attorney contenting himself with having the greatest Power in governing the Councils; and all looking for other Stations upon the Arrival of the News from Scotland. But in a short Time the Intelligence from thence was quite contrary to what They expected; the King was not only in good Health, but his Affairs in no desperate Condition; all Factions feemed reconciled; and He was at the Head of an Army that looked Cromwell in the Face.

HERE-

HEREUPON They were at a great Stand in their Councils. The Duke of Lorraine had been civil to the Duke, and had at his first coming lent him some Money; but when He found he was without any Design, and by what Persons his Counsels were directed, He grew colder in his Respects: And They who had gone thus far, took upon them the Prefumption to propose a Marriage between the Duke of York, and a natural Daughter of the Duke of Lorraine; his Marriage with Madam de Cautecroix, the Mother of the faid Lady, being declared void in the Court of Rome: But the Duke of Lorraine was fo wife as not to entertain the Motion, except it should be made with the King's Privity. So apt are unexperienced Men, when They are once out of the Way, to wander into Bogs and Precipices, before They will be fensible of their false Conduct. When They found there was Nothing to be done at Bruffels, They persuaded the Duke to go to the Hague, with as little Defign; and when They had wearied all People there, They came to Breda, where the Chancellor had met them.

THE Duke himself was so young, that He was The State of rather delighted with the Journeys He had made, the Duke of York's Fathan fensible that He had not entered upon them mily at Brewith Reason enough; and They had fortified him da. with a firm Resolution, never to acknowledge that He had committed any Error. But his Counfellors had loft all the Pleafure of their Combination; and reproached each other of their Follies and Prefumptions, with all the Animofity imaginable. The Lord Byron and Mr. Bennet, who had comforted each other in their Sufferings, were glad enough to fee that there was some End put to their Peregrinations; and that by returning to the Queen, They were like to find some Rest again: And They entertained the Chancellor with many ridiculous Relations of the Politicks of the Attorney and Sir George. Ratcliffe,

Ratcliffe, and of the pleasant Discourses the Duke of Lorraine made of the Latin Orations, Sir George

Ratcliffe had entertained him with.

On the other Hand, Sir George was well pleafed with the Grace He had received from the Duke of Lorraine, and with the Testimony He had given of him to some Men, who had told him of it again, that He was a very grave and a wife Man; and that He wished He had such another to look after his Affairs. He and Dr. Steward continued their Affections towards each other; and concurred in most bitter Invectives against Sir Edward Herbert, as a mad Man, and of that intolerable Pride, that it was not possible for any Man to converse with him; and the Attorney as frankly reproached them all, with being Men of no Parts, of no Understanding, no Learning, no Principles, and no Refolution; and was so just to them all, as to contemn every Man alike; and in Truth, had rendered himfelf fo grievous to them all, and behaved himself fo infolently towards all, that there was not a Man who defired to be in his Company: Yet by the Knack of his Talk, which was the most like Reafon, and not it, He retained still great Credit with the Duke; who being still confounded with his pofitive Discourse, thought him to be wifer than those (126) who were more eafy to be understood.

THE Duke upon the Receipt of the Queen's Letters, which the Chancellor delivered to him, refolved upon his Journey to Paris, without farther Delay; and the Chancellor waiting upon his Highness as far as Antwerp, He prosecuted his Journey with the same Retinue He had carried with him; and was received by his Mother without those Expostulations and Reprehensions, which He might have expected; though her Severity was the same towards all those, who She thought had the Credit

and Power to feduce him.

THE Chancellor was now at a little Rest again with his own Family in Antwerp, and had Time to be vacant to his own Thoughts, and Books; and in the Interval to enjoy the Conversation of many worthy Persons of his own Nation, who had chosen that Place to spend the Time of their Banishment in. There was the Marquis of Newcastle, who having married a young Lady, confined himself most to her Company, and lived as retired, as his ruined Condition in England obliged him to; yet with Honour and Decency, and with much Respect paid him by all Men, as well Foreigners, as those of his own Country. The Conversation the Chancellor took most Delight in, was that of Sir Charles The Chancel-Cavendish, Brother to the Marquis; who was one of lor's Friendthe most extraordinary Persons of that Age, in all Character of the noble Endowments of the Mind. He had all Cavendish. the Disadvantages imaginable in his Person; which was not only of fo small a Size, that it drew the Eyes of Men upon him; but with fuch Deformity in his little Person, and an Aspect in his Countenance, that was apter to raise Contempt than Application: But in this unhandfome or homely Habitation, there was a Mind and a Soul lodged that was very lovely and beautiful; cultivated, and polished by all the Knowledge and Wisdom, that Arts and Sciences could supply it with. He was a great Philosopher, in the Extent of it; and an excellent Mathematician; whose Correspondence was very dear to Gassendus and Descartes; the last of which dedicated some of his Works to him. He had very notable Courage; and the Vigour of his Mind, fo adorned his Body, that being with his Brother the Marquis in all the War, He usually went out in all Parties, and was present, and charged the Enemy in all Battles, with as keen a Courage as could dwell in the Heart of Man. But then the Gentleness of his Disposition, the Humility and Meekness of his Nature, and the Vivacity of his Wit was admirable. He was fo modest, that He could hardly be prevailed with to enlarge himfelf on Subjects He understood better than other Men, except He were pressed by his very familiar Friends; as if He thought it Presumption to know more than handsomer Men use to do. Above all, his Virtue and Piety was fuch, that no Temptation could work upon him to confent to any Thing, that swerved in the least Degree from the precise Rules of Honour, or the most fevere Rules of Con-

WHEN He was exceedingly importuned by those whom He loved best to go into England, and compound for his Estate, which was very good, that thereby He might be enabled to help his Friends, who were reduced into great Streights; He refused it, out of Apprehension that He might be required to take the Covenant, or Engagement, or to do somewhat elfe, which his Conscience would not permit him to do: And when They endeavoured to undervalue that Conscience, and to persuade him not to be governed by it, that would expose him to Famine, and restrain him from being charitable to his best Friends; He was so offended with their Argumentation, that He would no more admit any Dif-(127) course upon the Subject. Upon which They applied themselves to the Chancellor, who They thought had most Credit with him; and defired him to perfuade him to make a Journey into England; the Benefit whereof to him and themselves was very intelligible; but informed him not of his Refusal, and the Arguments They used to convert him.

The Chancellar persuades Sir Charles go into Eng-

THE next Time They met, which They usually did once a Day, the Chancellor told him, He heard Cavendish to He had a Purpose to make a Journey into England; to which He fuddenly answered, that indeed He was defired to do so, but that He had positively refused; and thereupon with much Warmth and Indignation, related what Importunity, and what Arguments had been used to him, and what He had answered: And thereupon said, that his present Condition was in no Degree pleasant or easy to him (as in Truth it was not. He being in very visible Want of ordinary Conveniences) but, He protested, that He would rather submit to Nakedness, or starving in the Street, than subscribe to the Covenant, or Engagement, or do any Thing else that might trench upon his Honour or his Conscience. To which the Chancellor replied, that his Resolution became him, and was worthy of his Wisdom and Honesty; and that if He found him inclined to do any Thing that might trench upon either, He was fo much his Friend, that He would put him in Mind of his Obligations to both; that indeed the Arguments which had been used to him could never prevail upon a virtuous Mind; however, He told him, He thought the Motion from his Friends might be a little more confidered, before it was rejected; and confessed to him that He was defired to confer with him about it, and to dispose him to it; without being informed, that any Attempt had been already made: And then asked him, whether He did in Truth believe, that his Journey thither might probably produce those Benefits to himself and his Friends, as They imagined; and then it would be fit to confider whether those Conveniences were to be purchased at a dearer Price than they were worth.

He answered, there could be no Doubt, but that if He could go thither with Safety, and be admitted to compound for his Estate, as others did, He could then sell it at so good a Price, that He could not only provide for a competent Subsistence for himself, when He returned, but likewise assist

his

his Friends for their better Support; and that He could otherwise, out of Lands that were in Trust, and not known to be his, and so had not been yet sequestered, raise other Sums of Money, which would be attended with many Conveniences; and He confessed Nothing of all this could be done without his own Presence. But then that which deprived him of all this was, in the first Place, the Apprehension of Imprisonment, which, He said, his Constitution would not bear; but especially, because by their own Ordinance, no Body was capable to compound, till He had subscribed to the Covenant and Engagement: which He would not do to fave his Life; and that in what Necessity soever He was, He valued what Benefit He could possibly receive by the Journey, only as it might confift with his Innocence, and Liberty to return; and fince He could not reasonably presume of either, He had no Thought of going.

THE Chancellor told him, that They were both of the same Mind in all Things which related to Conscience and Honour; but yet, since the Benefits which might refult from his Journey were great, and very probable, and in some Degree certain, and the Mischiefs He apprehended were not certain, and possibly might be avoided. He thought He was not to lay afide all Thoughts of the Jour-(128) ney, which He was fo importuned to undertake by those who were so dear to him. That He was of the Few who had many Friends, and no Enemies; and therefore had no Reason to fear Imprisonment, or any other Rigour extraordinary, which was feldom used, but to Persons under some notable Prejudice. That after He once came to London, He would not take much Pleasure in going abroad; but might dispatch his Business by others, who would repair to him: And that for the Covenant and Engagement, they were fo contrary, that both were rarely

rarely offered to the same Person; and They had now fo much justled, and reviled each other, that They were neither in fo much Credit as They had been, and were not pressed, but upon such Perfons, against whom They had a particular Defign; however He went well armed as to that Point, with a Resolution not to submit to either; and the worst that could happen, was to return without the full Effect of his Journey. Whereas if those Mischiefs could be avoided, which the skilfull upon the Place could only instruct him in, He would return with great Benefit and Satisfaction to himself and his Friends: And if He were subjected to Imprisonment (which He ought not to apprehend, and could be but short) even in that Case, his Journey could not be without Fruit, by the Conference and Transactions with his Friends; though no Compofition could be made. Upon revolving these Confiderations, He refolved to undertake the Journey; and performed it so happily, without those Obstructions He feared, that He finished all He proposed to himself, and made a competent Provision to support his Brother during his Distress; though when He had dispatched it, He lived not to enjoy the Repose He desired, but died before He could return to Antwerp; and the Marquis ever after publickly acknowledged the Benefit He received hereby to the Chancellor's Advice.

As foon as the Chancellor had reposed himself at Antwerp, after so much Fatigue, He thought it necessary to give some Account of himself to the King; and though the Prohibition before his going into Scotland, and the sending away many of the Servants who attended him thither out of the Kingdom, made it unsit for him to repair thither himself; He resolved to send his Secretary (a Man of Fidelity, and well known to the King) to inform his Majesty of all that had passed, and to bring

back

back his Commands; but when He was at Amsterdam, ready to embark upon a Ship bound for Scotland, the News arrived there of his Majesty's being upon his March for England; upon which He returned to Antwerp; where He found the Spirits of all the English exalted with the same Advertisement.

As soon as the King came to Paris (after his wonderful Deliverance from the Battle of Worcester) and knew that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was at Antwerp, his Majesty sent to him to repair thither, which He accordingly did; and for the first four or five Days after his Arrival, the King spent many Hours with him in Private, and informed him of many Particulars of the Treatment He had met with in Scotland; of his March into England; of the Confusion at Worcester; and all the Circumstances of his happy Escape and Deliverance. Hist. of the Reb. Folio, Vol. 3. P. 332.

The Queen endeavours to attach the Chancellor to ber Interest.

THE Chancellor was yet looked upon with no ungracious Eye by her Majesty; only the Lord Fermyn knew well He would never refign himself to be disposed of, which was the Temper that could only endear any Man to him: For besides former Experience, an Attempt had been lately made upon him by Sir John Berkley; who told him, that the (129) Queen had a good Opinion of him, and knew wellin how ill a Condition He must be, in Respect of his Subfiftence; and that She would affign him fuch a competent Maintenance, that He should be able to draw his Family to him out of Flanders to Paris, and to live comfortably together, if She might be confident of his Service, and that He would always concur with her in his Advice to the King. To which He answered, that He should never fail in performing his Duty to the Queen, whom He acknow-

acknowledged to be his most gracious Mistress, with all possible Integrity: But as He was a Servant and Counfellor to the King, fo He should always confider what was good for his Service, and never decline that out of any Compliance whatfoever; and that He did not defire to be supported from any Bounty but the King's; nor more by his, than in Proportion with what his Majesty should be able to do for his other Servants. And shortly after the Queen herself speaking with him, and complaining that She had no Credit with the King, the Chancellor defired her not to think so; He knew well His Aufwer. the King had great Duty for her, which He would still preserve towards her; but as it would not be fit for her to affect such an Interest as to be thought to govern, fo Nothing could be more difadvantageous to the King and to his Interest, than that the World should believe that He was absolutely governed by his Mother; which He found (though She feemed to confent to it) was no acceptable Declaration to her. However She did often employ him to the King, upon fuch Particulars as troubled, or offended her; as once for the Removal of a young Lady out of the Louvre, who had procured a Lodging there, without her Majesty's Consent; and with whom her Majesty was justly offended, for the little Respect She shewed towards her Majesty; and when the Chancellor had prevailed fo far with the King, that He obliged the Lady to remove out of the Louvre, to satisfy his Mother, the Queen was well content that the Lady herself and her Friends should believe, that She had undergone that Affront merely by the Malice and Credit of the Chancellor.

29)

THE King remained at Paris till the Year 1654, when in the Month of June He left France; and paffing through Flanders, went to

Spa, where He proposed to spend two or three Months with his Sifter, the Princess Royal. His Stay at Spa was not fo long as He intended, the Small Pox breaking out there - His Majesty and his Sifter fuddenly removed to Aix-la-Chapelle. Hift. of the Reb. Folio, Vol. 3. P. 417, 418,

+ AT this Time there fell out an Accident neces-

fary to be inferted in the particular Relation of the Chancellor's Life, which had afterwards an Influence upon his Fortune, and a very great one upon the Peace and Quiet of his Mind, and of his Family. When the King refolved, immediately after the Murder of his Father, to fend the Chancellor his Ambassadour into Spain, the Chancellor, being to begin his Journey from the Hague, sent for his Wife and Children, to meet him at Antwerp; and had at that Time only four Children, one Daughter and three Sons; all of fo tender Years, that their own Discretions could contribute little to The Situation their Education. These Children, under the sole of the Chan-cellor's Family Direction of a very discreet Mother, He left at Antat Antwerp. werp, competently provided for, for the Space of a Year or more; hoping in that Time, to be able to fend them fome farther Supply; and having removed them out of England, to prevent any Inconvenience that might befall them there, upon any (130) Accident that might refult from his Negotiation in -Spain; it being in those Times no unusual Thing for the Parliament, when it had conceived any notable Displeasure against a Man, who was out of

> + THE Entrance of the Chancellor's Daughter into the Family of the Princess Royal is related in both Manuscripts. The Fact is here retained, as best preserving the Order of Time: The Circumstances preceding it, from p. 256. l. 13. to p. 258, 1. 17. and the Conclusion of it p. 262. 1. 34. to p. 263. 1. 7. are transcribed from the Manuscript of The Continuation, and therefore the whole Transaction is omitted in that Part of the Work.

their

their Reach, to seize upon his Wife and Children. and to imprison them, in what Manner, and for what Time seemed reasonable to them; and from this Hazard He was willing to preserve his. The King was in Scotland when the Chancellor returned from his Embassy to Antwerp, where his Family had still remained; his Children being grown as much as usually attends the Space of two Years, which was the Time He had been absent. The fatal Success at Worcester about this Time had put a Period to all his Majesty's present Designs; and He had no fooner made his wonderful Escape into France, than He sent for the Chancellor; who left his Family, as He had done formerly, and as meanly supplied, and made all Haste to Paris, where He found the King; with whom He remained till his Majesty was even compelled to remove from thence into Germany; which was above three Years.

DURING that Time the Princess Royal had, out They remove of her own Princely Nature and Inclination, culti- " Breda, vated by the Civility and Offices of the Lady Stanbope, conferred a very feafonable Obligation upon him, by affigning a House, that was in her Dispofal at Breda, to his Wife and Children; who had thereupon left Antwerp; and without the Payment of any House Rent, were more conveniently, because more frugally, settled in their new Mansion at Breda; where He got Liberty to visit them for four or five Days, whilft the King continued his Journey to the Spa; and after another Absence of near four Years, finding his Children grown, and improved after that Rate. The gracious Inclination in the Princess Royal towards the Chancellor's Wife and Children (not without some Reprehenfion from Paris) and the Civilities in the Lady Stanbope, had proceeded much from the good Offices of Daniel O Neile of the King's Bedchamber; who had for many Years lived in very good Correspon-Vol. I. dence

30)

dence with the Chancellor; and was very acceptable in the Court of the Princess Royal, and to those Persons who had the greatest Influence upon

her Councils and Affections.

THE Princess met the King her Brother at the Spa, rather for the mutual Comfort They took in each other, than for the Use either of them had of the Waters; yet the Princess engaged herself to that Order and Diet that the Waters required; and after near a Months Stay there, They were forced fuddenly to remove from thence, by the Sickness of some of the Princesses Women of the Small Pox: and refided at Aix-la-Chapelle, where They had been but one whole Day, when Notice came from the Spa that Mrs. Killigrew, one of the Maids of Honour to the Princess, was dead of the Small Mr. O Neile Pox. O Neile came in the Instant to the Chancellor

proposes to the Chancellor to aft for Mrs. Killigrew's Place for bis Daughter.

with very much Kindness, and told him, that the Princess Royal had a very good Opinion of him, and kind Purposes towards his Family, which She knew fuffered much for his Fidelity to the King; and therefore that She was much troubled to find that her Mother the Queen had less Kindness for him than He deserved; that by the Death of Mrs. Killigrew there was a Place now fallen, which very many would defire; and that it would no fooner be known at Paris, than the Queen would undoubtedly recommend some Lady to the Princess; but He was confident that, if the Chancellor would move the King to recommend his Daughter, who was known to the Princess, her Highness would willingly receive her. He thanked him for his particular Kindness; but conjured him not to use his Interest to promote any such Pretence; and told him that "himself would not apply the King's Fa-(131) "vour to fuch a Request; that He had but one "Daughter, who was all the Company and Com-"fort her Mother had, in her melancholick Retire-" ment :

Which the Chancellor declines.

"ment; and therefore He was refolved not to fe-"parate them, nor to dispose his Daughter to a "Court Life;" which He did in Troth perfectly detest. O Neile, much disappointed with the Anfwer, and believing that the Proposition would have been very grateful to him, confessed, that the Princefs had been already moved in it by the Lady Chefterfield; and that it was her own Defire that the King should move it to her, to the End, that She might be thereby sheltered from the Reproach which She expected from the Queen; but that the Princess herfelf had so much Kindness for his Daughter, that She had long resolved to have her upon the first Vacancy. The Chancellor was exceedingly perplexed; and refolved Nothing more, than that his Daughter should not live from her Mother; and therefore renewed his Conjurations to Mr. O Neile, that He would not farther promote it, fince it would never be acceptable to him; and concluded, that his making no Application, and the Importunity of others who defired the Honour, would put an End to the Pretence.

THE King had heard of the Matter from the The King Princess, and willingly expected when the Chancel- speaks to bim lor would move him for his Recommendation; jest. which when He saw He forbore to do, He spake himfelf to him of it, and aiked him, why He did not make fuch a Suit to him; upon which the Chancellor told him all that had passed between O Neile and him; and that for many Reasons, He declined the receiving that Obligation from the Princess: and therefore He had no Use of his Majesty's Favour in it. The King told him plainly, that "his Sifter upon having feen his Daughter "fome Days, liked her fo well, that She defired to "have her about her Person; and had herself spo-"ken to him to move it to her, for the Reason " aforefaid, and to prevent any Displeasure from the R 2

(131)

"Oueen; and He knew not how the Chancellor "could, or why He should omit such an Opportu-

"nity of providing for his Daughter, in so honour-

The Chancel- " able a Way." The Chancellor told Him, "He ler's Answer. " could not dispute the Reasons with him; only

"that He could not give himself Leave to deprive

"his Wife of her Daughter's Company; nor be-

His Discourse with the Princes Royal.

" lieve that She could be more advantageously bred "than under her Mother." Hereupon He went to the Princess, and took Notice of the Honour She was inclined to do him; but, He told Her, the Honour was not fit for him to receive, nor the Conjuncture seasonable for her Royal Highness to confer it: That She could not but know his Condition, being deprived of his Estate; and if her Highness's Bounty had not affigned a House at Breda, where his Wife and Family lived Rent free, They had not known how to have subsisted: But by that her Favour, the small Supplies his Friends in England fecretly fent over to them, sustained them in that private Retirement in which They lived; fo that it was not in his Power to make his Daughter fuch an Allowance, as would enable her to live in her Court, in that Manner as would become her Relation.

THE Princess would not permit him to enlarge; but very generously told him, that She knew well the Streightness of his Condition, and how it came to be fo low; and had no Thought, that He should be at the Charge to maintain his Daughter in her Service: that He should leave that to Her: And so used many Expressions of Esteem of him, and of Kindness and Grace to his Daughter. He foreseeing, and expecting such Generosity, replied to her, that fince her Goodness disposed her to such an Act of Charity and Honour, it became his Duty and Gratitude to provide, that She should bring no In-(132) convenience upon herfelf: That He had the Mif-: moonal

fortune

fortune (with all the Innocence and Integrity imaginable) to be more in the Queen her Mother's Disfavour, than any Gentleman, who had had the Honour to serve the Crown fo many Years in some Trust; that all the Application He could make, nor the King's own Interpolition, could prevail with her Majesty to receive him into her gracious Opinion; and that He could not but know, that this unseasonable Act of Charity, which her Highness would vouchfafe to fo ungracious a Family, would produce fome Resentment and Displeasure from the Queen her Mother towards her Highness, and increase the Weight of her severe Indignation against him, which so heavily oppressed him already; and therefore He resolved to prevent that Mischief, which would undoubtedly befall her Highness; and would not submit to the receiving the Fruits of her favourable Condescension.

To this the Princess answered with some Warmth. that She had always paid that Duty to the Queen her Mother, which was due to her; and would never give her a just Cause to be offended with her: But that She was Mistress of her own Family, and might receive what Servants She pleafed; and that She should commit a great Fault against the Queen, if She should forbear to do a good and a just Action, to which She was inclined, out of Apprehenfion that her Majesty would be offended at it. She faid, She knew fome ill Offices had been done him to her Mother, for which She was forry; and doubted not, but her Majesty would in due Time discern that She had been misinformed, and mistaken; and then She would like and approve of what her Highness should now do. In the mean Time She was refolved to take his Daughter, and would fend for her as She returned into Holland. The Chancellor, not in any Degree converted, but confounded with the gracious and frank Discourse of R 3

the Princess Royal, knew not what more to say; replied only, that He hoped her Highness would think better of what She seemed to undervalue, and that He left his Daughter to be disposed of by her Mother, who He knew would be very unwilling to part with her; upon which her Highness answered, "I'll warrant you, my Lady and I will agree upon "the Matter." To conclude this Discourse, which confidering what fell out afterwards, is not impertinent to be remembered. He knew his Wife had no Inclination to have her Daughter out of her own Company; and when He had by Letter informed her of all that had passed, He endeavoured to confirm her in that Resolution: But when the Princess after her Return into Holland fent to her, and renewed her gracious Offer, She, upon Confultation with Dr. Morley (who upon the old Friendship between the Chancellor and him, chose in his Banishment, from the Murder of the King, to make his Residence for the most Part in his Family, and was always perfectly kind to all his Interefts) believed it might prove for her Daughter's Benefit; and writ to her Husband her Opinion, and that the Doctor concurred in the same.

THE Chancellor looked upon the Matter itself, and all the Circumstances thereof, as having some Mark of Divine Providence, which He would not refift; and fo referred it wholly to his Wife: Who His Wife ac- when She had presented her Daughter to the Princess, came herself to reside with her Husband, to his great Comfort; and which He could not have enjoyed, if the other Separation had not been made; and possibly that Consideration had the more easily disposed her to consent to the other. We have now fet down all the Passages and Circumstances which accompanied, or attended that Lady's first Promotion to the Service of the Princess Royal; which the extreme Averfeness in her Father and Mother (133) from

cepts the Offer, and pre-Sents ber Daughter to abe Princefs.

from embracing that Opportunity, and the unufual Grace and Importunity from them who conferred the Honour, being confidered, there may appear to many an extraordinary Operation of Providence. in-giving the first Rife to what afterwards succeeded; though of a Nature fo transcendent, as cannot be thought to have any Relation to it.

AFTER an unsuccessful Insurrection of some of the King's Friends in England, Cromwell exercifed the utmost Severity and Cruelty against them; putting many to Death, and transporting others, as Slaves, to Barbadoes; and by his own Authority, and that of his Council, made an Order, that all Persons who had ever borne Arms for, or declared themselves of, the Royal Party, should be decimated; that is, pay a tenth Part of all the Estate They had left, to support the Charge of the Commonwealth; and published a

Declaration to justify his Proceedings: Hift. of Cromwell the Reb. Folio, Vol. 3. from P. 429 to 444. which Declaration confidently fet down fuch Maxims, as made it ma-juffifying bis nifest to all who had ever served the King, or would decimating the not submit to Cromwell's Power and Government, King's Party. that They had Nothing that They could call their own, but must be disposed of at his Pleasure; which as much concerned all other Parties, as the King's, in the Consequence.

THIS Declaration, as foon as printed, was fent over to Cologne, where the King then was, and the Chancellor was commanded by the King to write To which the fome Discourse upon it, to awaken the People, and the King's shew them their Concernment in it; which He did Command by Way of a Letter to a Friend; which was like-Answer. wife fent into England, and there printed; and when Cromwell called his next Parliament, it was made great Use of to inflame the People, and make them sensible of the Destruction that attended them;

R 4

and '

(133)

Conclusion.

and was thought then to produce many good Effects. And so We conclude this Part.

Montpelier, 27th of May, 1670.

THE Seventh and last Part of the Manuscript is dated at Montpelier, August the 1st, 1670, and continues the History from the King's Residence at Cologne, to the Restoration of the Royal Family in 1660; containing the Substance of what is printed in the two last Books of The History of the Rebellion. The only remarkable Circumstance of the Author's Life during that Period is, that in the Year 1657, while the King was at Bruges, his Majesty appointed the Chancellor of the Exchequer to be Lord High Chancellor of England; and delivered the Great Seal into his Custody, upon the Death of Sir Edward Herbert, the last Lord Keeper thereof. Hist. of the Reb. Folio, Vol. 3. P. 480.



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